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See also Report of Annual Meeting, at the end of Sir Thomas More.

June, 1844.

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P R E F A C E.

This work has originated in a desire, on the part of the Council of the Shakespeare Society, to afford a receptacle for papers illustrative of our early drama and stage, none of which, by themselves, would be of sufficient length and importance to form a separate publication.

It is to be borne in mind that the Society was formed, not merely for the elucidation of the productions of our great Dramatist (although that was certainly the main design), but of those of his predecessors, contemporaries, and immediate followers; so that few points connected with our popular literature, anterior to the Restoration, do not come within the scope of the Society.

This remark is the more necessary, because it does not always seem to have been understood, because some of the ensuing articles are of a general character or relate to a remote period, and because it is the wish of the Council to invite contributions illustrating, directly or incidentally, the opinions, manners, and peculiarities of the times in which Shakespeare lived, so distinctly and vividly reflected in his pages.

The Council has confined the volume, in the first instance, to five and twenty papers; but others are in

reserve, and, by the aid of zealous Members in different parts of the kingdom, it is hoped that succeeding volumes may be issued of larger dimensions and of a wider range of criticism and reflection. It is known that several individuals, friendly to the design, would have sent contributions to the Secretary, had they been aware of the precise form it was wished they should assume.

The Council has to return its thanks for various articles not found in the following pages, and to apologize to the writers for the non-insertion of them in the present publication, which has been put forth rather as a specimen of what has been done, than of what may be accomplished.

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THE
SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S
P A P E R S.

ART. I.—*Dogberry and his Associates. Arrest of the Conspirators with Mary Queen of Scots.*

While I was composing the "Life of Shakespeare," Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, favoured me with a communication amusingly illustrative of one of the comedies of our great dramatist ; for which, however, as my work had proceeded so far, I could not conveniently find a place: it relates to "Much Ado about Nothing;" and if I had had what follows in my possession when I wrote the "Introduction" to that play, I should in all probability have there inserted it. As I had not the benefit of it at that time, I have thought that it would not form an inappropriate addition to the Papers of the Shakespeare Society.

It is an original letter, entirely in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, dated from Theobald's on the 10th August, 1586, only two months and a day before the meeting of the Commissioners at Fotheringay for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. The letter, which is addressed to Secretary Walsingham, relates to some circumstances preparatory to this event, when a watch was set, and the "ways laid," according to the ordinary expression of that day, for the capture of conspirators.

It illustrates Shakespeare in this manner: it gives us a curious account of the proceedings of the Dogberries of that day for the arrest of suspected persons, and shows in some degree how much to the life our great dramatist drew the characters he introduced. Lord Burghley was on his way to his house at Theobald's, "in his coach," when he observed at Enfield such inefficient and Dogberry-like arrangements made for the seizure of the parties implicated, one of whom was only to be recognized by having "a hooked nose," that, instantly on his arrival at home, he despatched the letter in question to Sir Francis Walsingham, complaining of the absurd mode in which the public service was to be executed, thereby enabling offenders rather to escape than to be brought to justice. The extreme speed with which he was anxious that his communication to the Secretary should be conveyed may be judged from the superscription, in the following singular form.

"To the R. Honorable my verie loving frend, Sir Francis
Walsingham, Knight, Hir Ma^{ty} Principall Secretary,
at London.

hast	} Post.
hast	
hast	
hast	

"W. BURGHLEY."

We may presume, after this "post-haste" injunction, that the messenger lost no time in placing the letter in Walsingham's hands. In order to render its contents perfectly intelligible, we must premise (and here we are indebted to Mr. Lemon's research and acuteness) that by 10th August, 1586, the ministers of Elizabeth were in full possession of the details of a plot by Anthony Babington, in concert with the Queen of Scots, to murder the Queen of England; and they had just arrived at that point, when the arrest or escape of any of the conspirators would have been of the utmost consequence. Ballard, one of the principal

conspirators, had been taken up on the 4th of August, (six days before the date of Lord Burghley's letter) which instantly alarmed Babington and the rest, who therefore fled in all directions. These were the parties who, according to Lord Burghley, were "missing" on the 10th August, and to arrest whom the Dogberries of Enfield were upon the watch, all the means of identification they apparently possessed being that one of the accused individuals had "a hooked nose." It is worthy of note also that Babington and some of his co-conspirators were arrested on the very day that Lord Burghley's letter bears date; and hence we may infer, perhaps, that the description, however defective, was sufficient.

"Sir—As I cam from London homward, in my coche, I sawe at every townes end the number of x or xii, standyng, with long staves, and untill I cam to Enfeld I thought no other of them, but that they had stayd for avoyding of the rayne, or to drynk at some alehowse, for so they did stand under pentyses [penthouses] at ale howses. But at Enfeld fyndyng a dosen in a plump, whan ther was no rayne, I bethought my self that they war appointed as watchmen, for the apprehendyng of such as are missyng; and theruppon I called some of them to me apart, and asked them wherfor they stood there? and one of them answered, 'To take 3 yong men.' And demandyng how they shuld know the persons, one answered with these wordes: 'Marry, my Lord, by intelligence of ther favor.' What meane you by that?' quoth I. 'Marry,' sayd they, 'one of the partyes hath a hooked nose.'—'And have you,' quoth I, 'no other mark?'—'No,' sayth they. And then I asked who apoynted them; and they answered one Bankes, a Head Constable, whom I willed to be sent to me. Suerly, sir, who so ever had the chardge from yow hath used the matter negligently; for these watchmen stand so oppenly in plumps, as no suspected person will come neare them; and if they be no better instructed but to fynd 3 persons by one of them havyng

a hooked nose, they may miss therof. And thus I thought good to advertise yow, that the Justyces that had the chardg, as I thynk, may use the matter more circumspectly.

From Theobaldes, 10 Aug., 1586.

Your's, assuredly,
W. BURGHLEY."

It will be observed that the constables are represented by Lord Burghley as standing *under penthouses*, to avoid the rain, and it will be recollected that there is in "Much ado about Nothing" a singular, but of course merely accidental, coincidence of expression :—

"Stand thee, close, then, under this penthouse, for it drizzles rain ;"

although these words are put into the mouth of Borachio to Conrade, and not assigned to any of the "watchmen."

The letter of Lord Burghley is, as we have remarked, entirely in his handwriting ; and as it has never yet been printed, and relates to an event of so much historical importance as the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, it is on all accounts more worthy of insertion.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, 6 February, 1844.

N. B. The event to which this letter relates occurred at the very season when I have supposed Shakespeare first came to London from Stratford upon Avon.

ART. II.—*Remarks on the similarity of a passage in Marlowe's Edward II. and one in the First Part of the Contention.*

Malone, in his Essay on the Chronological Order of Shakespeare's plays, has given us a very imperfect argument in support of his latest opinion, that Marlowe was the author of the "True Tragedie," and probably also of the first part of the "Contention," merely adducing two passages of remote similarity, but sufficient, in his estimation, to overthrow his previous arguments in favour of attributing the authorship of them to Peele and Greene. The two well known lines—

"What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
Sink into the ground? I thought it would have mounted."

are compared by Farmer to two others in Edward II.—

"———Scorning that the lowly earth
Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air."

The same thought, it will be observed, though expressed in different language and under different circumstances. Malone also found the expression "aspiring Lancaster" in Marlowe's play; and on these coincidences, if they can be so called, he has at once jumped to the conclusion that Marlowe was the writer of both dramas, in opposition to the results he had arrived at with so much learning in his celebrated Essay on the three parts of Henry VI.

I have recently observed a far more important evidence than either of these, and as it seems to have entirely escaped the notice of the critics, it may be considered of sufficient importance for a short paper for the Shakespeare Society. In Marlowe's Edward II., act ii., sc., 2, occur the following lines—

"The wild Oneyl, with swarms of Irish kerns,
Lives uncontroll'd within the English pale."

Now, in the first part of the "Contention," repr. p. 37, nearly the same lines occur, with merely an alteration to agree with the context—

"The wilde Onele, my Lorde, is up in armes,
With troupes of Irish kernes, that, uncontrol'd,
Doth plant themselves within the English pale."

This, it is evident, is far too near an approximation to the other to have been the result of chance, nor could we for a moment adopt such a supposition. It shows clearly enough, that there is some history attached to the authorship of those plays, I mean the first and second parts of the "Contention," that still remains to be unravelled; and it considerably strengthens the argument by which I endeavoured to prove, that the groundwork was not by Shakespeare, however unwilling we may be to believe that our poet was not the writer of a part of them. Taken in connexion with this last found evidence of the hand of Marlowe having been engaged in them, the similarities adduced by Malone are by no means devoid of weight. I may also add another, which occurs only a few lines afterwards—

"The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas."

In the "True Tragedie," 1595, repr. p. 124, we have—

"Sterne Fawconbridge *commands the narrow seas.*"

This may probably be of still less importance than those adduced by Malone, but I cannot help thinking that any reader who will regard these similarities impartially, more especially in connexion with the one just discovered, which could not by any possibility have been the result of chance, and who, by the bye, has not entirely eschewed verbal criticism, will come to the conclusion that the probabilities are now greatly in favour of Marlowe being the original author, or at least one of the original authors of the two dramas upon which Shakespeare

founded the second and third parts of Henry VI. If we take Marlowe's Edward II. in preference to his other plays, and, as Marlowe died in 1593, and the two parts of the "Contention" were probably not written much earlier, it is clearly right to do so, there will be less difficulty in believing him to be the author of many parts, I will not say all, of the last mentioned dramas. At all events, I believe I have materially assisted my previous theory concerning these plays, even against those who will allow no arguments but those which result from comparison, and no similarities of language that militate from their own opinions.

Malone pursued the plan of placing asterisks to all the lines which he considered Shakespeare's own additions in the two parts of Henry VI. When he so distinguished the following one in 2 Henry VI., act i., sc. 3—

"She bears a duke's revenues on her back,"

he had probably forgotten that Marlowe, in the above mentioned play, has—

"He wears a lord's revenue on his back."

And other similarities of language may be traced. This last coincidence is not found in the original play, and if we place reliance upon it, it considerably mystifies the argument.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

ART III.—*Letter from Ben Jonson to the Earl of Newcastle, and other matters relating to the Poet's family.*

The following letter from Ben Jonson to his "noble patron by excellence," as he calls him, is now printed for the first time. Mr. Gifford refers to it (p. clxii) as "a petitionary letter written with some humour as well as spirit." It is the best begging letter I remember to have read.

A Letter to the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MSS. No. 4955, fol. 204.]

"My Noble and most honor'd Lord,

"I myself being no substance, am fain to trouble you with shadows, or (what is less) an Apologue or Fable in a dream. I being stricken with the Palsy in the year 1628, had by Sir Thomas Badger some few months since a Fox sent me for a present, which creature by handling I endeavoured to make tame, as well for the abating of my disease as the delight I took in speculation of his nature. It happened this present year, 1631, and this very week, being the week ushering Christmas, and this Tuesday morning in a dream, (and morning dreams are truest) to have one of my servants come up to my bedside, and tell me—'Master, Master, the Fox speaks!' Whereat (me thought) I started, and troubled went down into the yard, to witness the wonder. There I found my Reynard, in his teneament—the Tub I had hired for him—cynically expressing his own lot to be condemned to the house of a Poet, where nothing was to be seen but the bare walls, and not any thing heard but the noise of a saw, dividing billets all the week long, more to keep the family in exercise than to comfort any person there with fire, save the paralytick master; and went on in this way as the Fox seemed the better Fabler of the two. I, his master, began to give him good words and stroke him, but Reynard,

barking, told me those would not do, I must give him meat. I angry called him stinking vermin. He replied, ‘Look into your cellar, which is your larder too, you’ll find a worse vermin there.’ When presently calling for a light, methought I went down and found all the floor turned up, as if a colony of moles had been there, or an army of Salt-petre men. Whereupon I sent presently into Tuttle Street for the King’s most excellent Mole-catcher to relieve me, and hunt them. But he, when he came, and viewed the place, and had well marked the earth turned up, took a handfull, smelt it, and said : ‘Master, it is not in my power to destroy this vermin ; the King, or some good man of a Noble Nature, must help you. This kind of Mole is called a WANT, which will destroy you and your family, if you prevent not the working of it in time. And therefore God keep you and send you health.’

“The interpretation both of the Fable and dream is, that I waking do find WANT the worst and most working vermin in a house, and therefore my noble Lord, and next the King my best Patron, I am necessitated to tell it you. I am not so impudent to borrow any sum of your lordship, for I have no faculty to pay ; but my needs are such, and so urging, as I do beg what your bounty can give me, in the name of Good Letters, and the bond of an ever grateful and acknowledging servant

“To your honour,

“BEN JONSON.

“Westminster, 20^{mo} Dec^{bris}. 1631.

“Yesterday the barbarous Court of Aldermen have withdrawn their Chandlerly Pension for Verjuice and Mustard, 33^u 6 8.”

The maiden name of Ben Jonson’s wife has not transpired, and we know nothing more about her than the information preserved by Drummond : “He married a wyfe who was a shrew yet honest : 5 yeers he had not bedded with her, but

remained with my Lord Aulbanie." (*Conversations*, p. 19.)
Epigram 22 is entitled "On my first daughter."

"Here lies, to each her parents ruth,
Mary, the daughter of their youth."

(*Gifford*, viii., 163.)

She was only six months old when she died :

"At six months end she parted hence."

Epigram 45 is entitled "On my first son :"

"Farewell, thou child of my right hand, and joy."

He died at the early age of seven :

"Seven years thou wert lent to me."

(*Gifford*, viii., 175.)

The poet's "eldest sone, then a child and at London," (*Conc.*, p. 20) died of the plague in 1603, when the father was in the country, at Sir Robert Cotton's. This, therefore, is the son the father has celebrated in enduring poetry.

In the parish register of St. Martin's in the Fields I discovered the baptism of Benjamin Jonson, the son of Ben, and what I believe to be the burial of the poet's daughter Mary. That the poet had a son named Benjamin was the belief of Whalley. I transcribe the entries as I found them :

"1593. November 17. *Septa fuit Maria Johnson peste.*"

"1610. Aprilis 6. *Bapt fuit Beniamin Johnson fil Ben :*"

Fuller's researches found the far-famed father "a little child, in Hartshorn Lane, near Charing Cross ;" and Gifford tells us (p. v.) that he was sent, "when of a proper age, to a private school in the church of St. Martin in the Fields."

The plague of 1603 committed fearful havoc in the then thinly populated parish of St. Martin's. Eight of the name of Jonson were buried in that year in the church or churchyard of St. Martin's. The christian name of the poet's eldest son

has not been ascertained ; it is believed to have been Benjamin, but on very insufficient grounds.

"Jonson's wife," says Gifford, p. xxiii, "was dead when he visited Scotland in 1618." The following entry from the same Register may just possibly record her burial.

"8 December, 1617. *Sepult fuit Elizab. Johnson.*"

This is brief enough ; but the same Register records the burial of Farquhar with still greater obscurity :

"23 May, 1707. *George Falkwerc.*"

The entry would have defied recognition, but for the previous knowledge we possess of Farquhar's dying in that month and year, and of his burial in the churchyard of St. Martin's.

There cannot be a doubt, I conceive, that Ben Jonson had a son named Benjamin baptized at St. Martin's on the 6th April, 1610. I may be wrong in my other conjectures, and could hazard more, but fear that I have already hazarded enough. Conjectures provoke inquiry, and occasionally elicit the truth.

The supposition of Malone and Gifford, that Ben Jonson's mother was married at St. Martin's on the 17th November, 1575, to Mr. Thomas Fowler, is completely overthrown by a note in Mr. Collier's recent *Life of Shakespeare*, p. clxvi. It is a pity to disturb received opinions, and give the lie to a fact of fifty years' standing. I almost regret the circumstance, and that I was the innocent author of so barren a discovery. To the information contained in that note I have now to add that the *supposed* mother of Ben Jonson was buried in St. Martin's on the 2nd of April, 1590.

I have to tender my best thanks to the Rev. Sir Henry Dukinfield, Bart., the present Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, for the free access allowed me to the valuable registers of that parish.

P. CUNNINGHAM.

4 June, 1844.

ART. IV.—*Ballad illustrative of Romeo and Juliet.*

In "Romeo and Juliet," act iv. sc. 5, Peter, after urging the musicians to play the tune of "Heart's Ease," assigns as a reason that he wishes it as a contrast to the ballad of "My heart is full of woe," which his own heart plays in consequence of the supposed death of Juliet. Steevens, in a note, informs us that "My heart is full of woe" is the burden of a ballad called "A pleasant new ballad of two Lovers;" but he quotes no more of it, and we look in vain for it in Percy's "Reliques," among the pieces illustrative of Shakespeare. Mr. Chappell, in his "Collection of National English airs, ii., 137, in reference to "Heart's Ease," and "My heart is full of woe," quotes the passage from "Romeo and Juliet," and adds in a note two lines with which the ballad begins, but I have met with no part of it elsewhere. As the whole of it is clearly worth preserving, both for its own sake and because it is mentioned by our great dramatic poet, and as a copy of it happens to be in my possession, I subjoin it as a small contribution to the Papers of the Shakespeare Society.

"Romeo and Juliet" having been first printed in 1597, the ballad must have been anterior to that date: the manuscript comedy of "Misogonus," written by a person of the name of Richards, (according to Mr. Collier, in his "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry," ii., 470,) prior to 1560, contains a song "to the tune of Heart's Ease," and very possibly "My heart is full of woe" is as old, although my copy of it is of the commencement of the seventeenth century. It is in black letter, and was "printed by the assigns of Thomas Symcocke," who, I believe, had a patent for the publication of such productions early in the reign of James I. It is ornamented by two woodcuts, representing a gentleman and a lady of rank, both coarse in their execution, but one much inferior to the other.

A pleasant new ballad of Two Lovers.

To a pleasant new tune.

Complaine, my lute, complaine on him,
That stayes so long away ;
He promis'd to be here ere this,
But still unkind doth stay.
But now the proverbe true I finde,
Once out of sight then out of minde.
Hey, hoe ! my heart is full of woe !

Peace, lyer, peace ! it is not so,
He will by and by be here ;
But every one that is in love
Thinkes every houre a yeare.
Hark ! Hark ! me thinks one knocke.
Run quickly, then, and turne the locke :
Then, farewell all my care and woe !

Come, gallant, now, come, loyterer,
For I must chide with thee ;
But yet I will forgive thee once :
Come, sit thee downe by mee.
Faire lady, rest yourselfe content,
I will endure your punishment,
And then we shall be friends againe.

For every houre that I have stayd
So long from you away,
A thousand kisses I will give ;
Receive them, ready pay.
And if we chance to count amisse,
Againe wee'le reckon every kisse ;
For he is blest that's punisht so.

And if those thousand kisses, then,
We chance to count aright,
We shall not neede to come againe
Till we in bed doe light.
And then be sure that thou shalt have
Thy reckoning just as thou shalt crave ;
So shall we still agree as one.

And thus they spent the silent night,
In sweet delightfull sport,
Till Phæbus with his beames so bright
From out the fiery port,
Did blush to see the sweet content
In sable night so vainly spent,
Betwixt these lovers two.

And then this gallant did perswade,
That he might now begone.
Sweet-heart, quoth he, I am afraid
That I have stayd too long.
And wilt thou, then, begone, quoth she,
And wilt no longer stay with me ?
Then, welcome all my care and woe.

And then she took her lute in hand,
And thus began to play :
Her heart was faint, she could not stand,
But on her bed she lay.
And art thou gone, my love ? quoth she,
Complaine, my lute, complaine with me,
Untill that he doth come againe.

If I am not much mistaken, the Members of the Shakespeare Society will be obliged to me for perpetuating such a gracefully

written relic of antiquity, which in point of style and sentiment is hardly unworthy even of the great poet who has only quoted a part of the last line of the first stanza. No hint is anywhere given who might be its author, and it is only mentioned, that I am aware of, by Steevens and by Mr. Chappell, who does not state from whence he derived his information in this instance; perhaps from the very copy of the ballad now before me, for it was once in his hands. His two volumes are full of new and interesting matter relating to the old ballad literature of our country, and to the music to which ballads were sung.

ANDREW BARTON.

PS. I ought to add that the same broadside which contains the preceding ballad has another upon it, entitled "The Lover's Complaint for the Losse of his love," with a woodcut of a shepherd. It is also "To a pleasant new tune," but it has no connexion with Shakespeare or his works.

A. B.

Bristol, January 16, 1844.

ART. V.—*Additions to "The Alleyn Papers."*

In the Introduction to "The Alleyn Papers," printed by the Shakespeare Society, it is stated that, in consequence of the little value in the last century supposed to belong to the documents preserved at Dulwich College, many of them disappeared, and that, although most of them have found their way back again, there are, no doubt, some still in hands which hardly know they possess them. Such is precisely my case: the publication of "The Alleyn Papers," and the curious matters they contain, led me to search my own receptacles of "unconsidered trifles," in hopes of finding something that might answer the purpose, and be worthy of insertion among the proposed miscellany of the Shakespeare Society. My father and my grandfather had got a good many small manuscripts together, but generally relating to heraldry, or to some of "the six follies of science," as Mr. Pettigrew calls them, in his not less learned than amusing volume recently printed, on "the Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery." However, among them I discovered two or three of a different kind, relating to poets, poetry, and players, and copies of these I subjoin in order to contribute what I can to the general stock of information. The first is a scrap from Robert Daborne, the dramatist, whose name occurs so often in "The Alleyn Papers," and it appears to be connected in subject with the note on p. 63 of that work; and we may gather from it that Daborne had mortgaged his estate. The Mr. Benfield mentioned in it must have been Robert Benfield, the actor, of whom we hear frequently at about the time of Shakespeare's retirement from the stage. The note is upon a small square piece of paper, and to whom it was addressed is not stated, but we may perhaps conclude that it was to Henslowe, who had advanced small sums to Daborne

upon the security of his property, as well as of the plays he was to write for the company, in the receipts of which the old manager was a sharer. I copy it *literatim*.

"Sr, I hav bin befor the Doctor, and acknowledged the deed with the chardg of 13^s. I pray, Sr, send me the 20^s you promysed, and for the mans name, my cozin will carry it ouer himself without your trouble. Sr, the assurance is such as noe alderman can giv you better, and for Mr Benfield, we hav made an absolute end with him to your content: so I rest,

"Yrs to command,

"ROB. DABORNE.

"The deed is acknowledged, and the end is made, and with Mr Benfield: I pray you send him the monye.

"JHO. FOSTER."

It is no where stated, that I am aware of, what "Jho. Foster" had to do with the transaction: he was possibly the scrivener who had drawn the deed; but the whole, with the exception of that name, is in the handwriting of Daborne.

The next scrap is subscribed by William Rowley, the dramatist and actor, by Joseph Taylor, the very celebrated performer, who until lately was supposed to have been the original Hamlet, (see "The Alleyn Papers," p. 86,) and by Robert Pallant, also a player of great repute. Other names of members of the company no doubt followed these three, but they have been torn away, and even the signature of Pallant is not entire: the address is also wanting, but it seems to relate to some transaction between either Henslowe and the company, or Alleyn and the company, respecting the purchase of the wardrobe or part of it, for the payment for which the

members of the association were to give bond : it runs precisely thus :—

“Wee are well contented with that agreement which was concluded betweene you and our fellow Tailor, which was five and fiftye pounds. Wee desire that the clothes may be here to morrow morning, and bondes shall be sealde for the paiement of it.

“WILLIAM ROWLEY.

“JOSEPH TAYLOR.

“ROB^t PALLANT.”

The body of the paper is in the handwriting of Rowley, who puts his name first, while Pallant's name, which comes first in the fac-simile in “The Alleyn Papers,” p. 87, is only third. The location was perhaps merely accidental.

A third paper in my hands is a copy of verses, in the form of an acrostic, addressed by John Day, the distinguished dramatic poet, author of various extant plays, to Thomas Dowton, who had been an actor as early as 1597, whose name stands second among the players of Prince Henry, in 1603, and who was at the head of the players of the Elector Palatine, in 1612. These dates I take from the “History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage,” i. p. 351, 381, 395 ; and from the tenor of what follows we may believe that while the actor had grown rich, the poet had continued poor, and by means of these lines had made some charitable appeal to him. Every fact that has come to light serves to shew that the profession of an actor in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. was very profitable ; but the dramatists of that time, either from the low price at which they sold their productions, or from habitual carelessness, did not generally partake of the riches acquired by mere actors : this is pretty much the case in our own times. Day's lines are as follows :—

*Acrostic Verses upon the Name
of his worthie friende, Maister
Thomas Downton.*

T he wealthy treasure of America
H id in the vaines and artiers of the earthe,
O r the riche pearle begotten in the sea,
M ade rounde and oriente in his naturall birthe,
A re not all valewde, in the eye of arte,
S oe much (by much) as a compassionate harte.

D etermine, then, to keepe that wealthie mine,
O f all exchequers in the world the beste :
W isdome the quoine, the stamp upon 't devine,
T he man that owes it beares this motto, "Bleste."
O f all my friendes ('twere shame to wrong desarte)
N ot one of all beares a more passionate harte.

JOHN DAY.

"Artiers," in the second line, seems not to have been an unusual way, at the time, of spelling *arteries*; but this laborious trifle has little to recommend it but the ingenuity of its construction: however, it is not worse than many similar productions which were much in fashion in the middle of the reign of James I. Downton had at this date, we may presume, retired from the stage, and lived upon his acquired property, out of which Day wished him to make some donation, in order to show that he was possessed of that "best of all exchequers," a "compassionate heart."

The next and last manuscript I have to offer seems also to have been a charitable appeal by the same poet, but in prose; and from it we learn that Day had written a poem on the Miracles of Christ, which, I believe, has not survived, and perhaps was never printed. It was sent in manuscript to some patron of Day's, (for the superscription is wanting, the whole having been torn away, excepting the words "very good," and

c 2

"Esquier,") as a new year's gift, and the object, of course, was to procure a pecuniary recompence.

"Sr, It hath bene an antient custome in (this great Isle of Man) the world, for men, in any fashion acquainted, at the birthe of the new yeare to new date the band of their loves, and, by som present or gifte, new seale and more strongly condition them: which custome to continew, and to pay som part of the duty in which I stand obliged to your worshipp, I am bold to present you with this small Poeme, contayning the Miracles of our Blest Saviour. And hoping you will receyve it as gratefully, as I tender it willinglie, I cease your trouble,

"Desirous to be all yours,

"JOHN DAY."

It is not to be disputed that these are mere trifles, but they add something to our knowledge of men who were cotemporary with Shakespeare in both departments of the stage, as fellow-dramatists and fellow-actors.

J. F. HERBERT.

May 5, 1844.

ART. VI.—*The profits of old Actors.*

In several parts of his recently published "Life of Shakespeare," Mr. Collier alludes to the fact; that at the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, and in the commencement of that of James I., acting was a very profitable employment. He shows, p. ccxxii, that Richard Burbage died, in 1619, worth £300 a year in land, besides personal property; and in his "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," and in the "Alleyn Papers," he has adduced evidence to prove, that the founder of Dulwich College was worth even more, and at an earlier date. I only refer to these circumstances in order to direct attention to an incidental confirmation of the position, that theatrical speculations were very advantageous from about 1590 to 1615; that is, during the period that Shakespeare was a writer for the stage. It is contained in a small volume of Epigrams, printed in 1613, under the title of "*Laquei Ridiculosi*, or Springes for Woodcocks," by H. P.—the initials, as is generally supposed, of Henry Parrott. The whole work consists of 339 epigrams, divided into two books, and epigram 131 runs thus:—

"Theatrum licentia.

"Cotta's become a Player, most men know,
 And will no longer take such toyling paines;
 For here's the spring (saith he) whence pleasures flow,
 And brings them damnable *excessive* gaines;
 That now are cedars growne from shrubs and sprigs,
 Since Greene's *Tu quoque*, and those Garlicke Jigs."

Greene's "*Tu quoque*" is of course the comedy so called, originally published the year after the appearance of Parrott's "*La quei Ridiculosi*," and inserted in vol. vii. of the last edition of "Dodsley's Old Plays:" "those Garlicke Jigs" may

be explained by a passage in another comedy found in vol. vi. of that valuable selection from our ancient drama: I refer to "The Hog hath lost his Pearl," where the following dialogue takes place between Haddit, a poet, and a Player:—

"*Player.* The muses assist you, sir. What! at your study so early?

"*Haddit.* O! chiefly now, sir; for *Aurora Musis amica.*

"*Player.* Indeed I understand not Latin, sir.

"*Haddit.* You must then pardon me, Mr. Change-coat; for, I protest unto you, it is so much my often converse, that, if there be none but women in my company, yet I cannot forbear it.

"*Player.* That shows your more learning, sir. But, I pray you, is that small matter done I entrusted you for?

"*Haddit.* A small matter! You'll find it worth Meg of Westminster, although it be but a bare jig.

"*Player.* O, lord! sir, I wish it had but half the taste of Garlick.

"*Haddit.* Garlick stinks to this: if it prove that you have not more than e'er Garlick had, say I am a boaster of my own works; disgrace me on the open stage, and bob me off with ne'er a penny."

If any further illustration be wanted, it may be found in a couplet of the Works of John Taylor, the water-poet, printed in 1630, where he says:—

" And for his action he eclipseth quite
The Jig of Garlick or the Punk's delight; "

which may establish that the jig had a second title, which in fact is distantly alluded to by Haddit. The play of "Meg of Westminster" is spoken of by Nat. Field in his excellent comedy, "Amends for Ladies," act ii., sc. 1, which was re-

printed some years ago in a supplementary volume to Dodsley's Collection : it is much to be regretted that sufficient encouragement was not given to that laudable undertaking ; although it affords the more room to the Shakespeare Society, which, I trust, will follow up its plan of printing farther specimens of our early drama. However, this is beside the question in relation to which I quoted the epigram from H. Parrott's Epigrams. By the way, and before I conclude, I may ask if the following do not clearly allude to Ben Jonson, and to his early trade of bricklaying ? It is numbered 163 ; and if it have been already quoted, it has escaped my memory.

“Cignus per plumas Anser.

“ Put off thy buskins, Sophocles the great,
And mortar tread with thy disdained shanks.
Thou thinkst thy skill hath done a wondrous feat,
For which the world should give thee many thanks.
Alas ! it seems thy feathers are but loose
Pluckt from a swan, and set upon a goose.”

DRAMATICUS.

ART. VII. — *Illustration of a Passage in Twelfth Night : the passing measure Pavin.*

I am anxious to avail myself of the intended publication of the Papers of the Shakespeare Society, in order to make an addition to a note in the impression of "Shakespeare's Works" completed under my care. The note to which I am desirous of appending a supplement is upon a passage in "Twelfth Night," act v., sc. 1, where Sir Toby Belch says of "Dick surgeon," who, he is told, is drunk :—

"Then, he's a rogue, and a passy-measures pavin. I hate a drunken rogue."

The difficulty here, with all the commentators, has been to understand why "Dick surgeon" is called "a passy-measures pavin:" having become intoxicated, of course he has *passed* the ordinary *measures* of discretion in his cups; but the word "pavin" also requires farther explanation. I was not aware, until very recently, that there was in Shakespeare's time a well-known dance, called "the *passing measure* pavin;" and it is to this that Sir Toby clearly alludes. "Dick surgeon" has *passed* his *measures* in getting drunk, and these words instantly bring "pavin" to the knight's mind, which was not inappropriate, because, as stated in the note, (Shakespeare's Works, iii., 413, edit. 1844) a pavin was "a slow, heavy movement, such as a drunken man might be supposed to execute in his intoxication." Musical authorities tell us, that "passy-measures," as it stands in the old copies, is a corruption of *passamezzo*, and such may be the fact; but nobody seems to have known, any more than myself, that there was a dance, in which Queen Elizabeth must often have joined, called "the passing measure pavin."

I have before me a list of thirteen dances, in a manuscript

of the time, with curious descriptions of the figures belonging to them, and the first of these is "the passinge measure pavyon," which is thus explained, I do not say how intelligibly to modern professors :—

"The passinge measure Pavyon.

"2 singles and a double forward, and
2 singles syde. Reprynce back."

Among the other twelve dances we find "my Lórd of Essex measure," "the Queenes Allmane," and various others, not perhaps so much illustrative of Shakespeare as of the court entertainments at the period when he was a writer for the stage, and when his plays were performed at Whitehall, Greenwich, Richmond, &c., as part of the amusements during Christmas and Shrovetide, at which seasons these dances were also in request. Even their titles are amusing; and, although some of them are new (not being mentioned, as I apprehend, elsewhere) others will be recognized as having been repeatedly referred to by dramatists, and other writers, about two centuries and a half ago. I therefore shall not hesitate to subjoin the whole, with the technical terms employed in the descriptions, exactly as they stand in the manuscript. I have already quoted "The passing measure pavin," or *pavyon*, which comes first, and the second is the well known dance of

"Turculony.

"A double foreward, reprince back 4 tymes—2 singles, a double foreward: reprynce back twice, a double foreward: reprynce back 4 tymes.

"My Lo. of Essex measure.

"A double foreward, one single syde 4 tymes: 2 syngles syde, a double foreward: reprins back.

" Tynterne abb.

" A double foreward: reprynce back once: 2 singles, a double rownde bothe wayes: a double foreward: reprynce back 3 tymes: 2 syngles, a double rownd both wayes.

" The old Allmayne.

" 2 syngles, a double rownd both wayes: 4 doubles foreward, 2 singles, a double rownd both wayes.

" The Queenes Allmane.

" 2 singles foreward; caste of a couple rownde: 2 singles syde: Reprynce back twies, 4 doubles foreward, 2 singles foreward, cast of a double rownde: 2 singles syde: Reprince back twies.

" Cicilia Pavyon.

" One single, a double foreward, one syngle syde: reprynce back, a double foreward: 2 syngles syde and 6 back twies: 2 singles, a double foreward. Reprynce back twies: one single, a double foreward, one single syde. Reprins back: a double foreward, 2 singles syde, and 6 back twies.

" Cicilia Allmane.

" 2 singles and a double foreward, one single syde twyse: parte: 2 singles syde, and hover. Change places with singles and double; then hover and imbrace: 2 singles syde, and hover: 2 singles, a double into your owne place agayne, then hover and imbrace.

" The Black Allman.

" 4 doubles foreward: parte. A double back, a double foreward, a double syde. Longe on the lefte legge, and a double on the right legge. 2 singles foreward, and 2 singles rownd,

one after another by both handes : a double rownd on the left hand, and travys 4.

“ La Down Sella.

“ 2 doubles forward, 2 syngles syde, a double foreward. Reprince back twyes : 2 singles foreward : cast of ; a double rownd twyes : the pavyon, over, travis 4 foreward ; reprince bace twyse.

“ Labonetta.

“ The pavyon twyes over : 2 doubles foreward ; 2 singles syde. Reprince back twice, a double and 6 foreward : one single syde. Reprince back twice.

“ Lache Mysa.

“ 2 doubles foreward ; 2 syngles syde twyse : the pavyon once over by both handes and a double rownd bothe wayes : parte, a double syde. Longe on the lefte hand : a double on the right hand : 2 syngles syde : turne a double rownd on the lefte hand ; 2 syngles syde, and turne a double on the right hand.

“ Lapassarella.

“ 2 doubles forward, 2 longe singles syde, 2 syngles forward : cast of a double and turne you, and doe two singles and a double foreward the other way. And turne you agayne at the end of the double : 4 doubles forward : 2 longe singles syde, a double forward. Parte, and turne in a double twyes.”

Some of the names have been strangely corrupted, such as “ La Down Sella ” for *La Donzella*, “ Lache Mysa ” for *La Chemise*, &c., but the names will perhaps be quite as intelligible as any other part of this singular relic : some of the figures appear to have been of a very complicated character, and it would be curious to witness an attempt to revive them. I am

not acquainted with any similar manuscript of so early a date ; but it is worth preserving, if only because, as we have shown in the outset, it so singularly illustrates an obscure passage in "Twelfth Night."

J. P. C.

April 12, 1844.

P. S. Since the above was written, a friend has referred me to MS. Rawl., No. 108, in the Bodleian Library, which contains a list of dances, some of them mentioned in the preceding enumeration, but not including that which mainly gives it importance, "the passinge measure pavyon." The dances in the Rawlinson MS. are these, in the uncouth orthography of the time: "The pavyan : Turquy lonye le basse : my Lord of Essex measures : Tynternell : Lorayne Allemayne : the old Allmayne : the long Pavyan : Cecyllya Allemayne : the newe Cycillia Allemayne : Cecyllya Pavyan : Quarto dispayne : the nyne Muses." My friend adds, that the MS. in the Bodleian Library is of about the same date, judging from the writing only, as my own list of dances, which I should fix between 1580 and 1590.

ART. VIII.—*Origin of the Curtain Theatre, and mistakes regarding it.*

In his History of the English Stage, prefixed to Mr. J. Payne Collier's edition of Shakespeare, published in the present year, the following note is appended to the words, "The Curtain," which occur at page xxxvi, note 10, viz:—

"It has been suggested by some that the Curtain Theatre owed its name to the curtain employed to separate the actors from the audience. We have before us documents, which on account of their length we cannot insert, shewing that such was probably not the fact, and that the ground on which the building stood was called the Curtain, *perhaps as part of the fortifications of London*, before any playhouse was built there. For this information we have to offer our thanks to Mr. T. E. Tomlins, of Islington."

Mr. Collier, in using the words "perhaps as part of the fortifications of London," has been thought to express that the documents with which I furnished him gave an authority for so doing; but, as this is not the case, and as I am not aware of any fortifications of the kind ever existing there, I am desirous that the documents themselves should appear, that the reader may draw his own conclusions from them. In thus repudiating Mr. Collier's conjecture, or rather in removing the responsibility from myself, it is done in no other spirit but with that desire for minute accuracy which so generally characterizes all Mr. Collier's researches.

By indenture of bargain and sale, enrolled in Chancery,¹ and bearing date 20 February, 9 Eliz., [1566] made between Sir James Blount knight Lord Mountjoy and Dame Katheryn,

¹ Claus. 9 Eliz., p. 14.

his Wife, sole daughter of Sir Thomas Leighe, knight, deceased, of the one part, and Maurice Longe, citizen and Clothworker of London, and William Longe, one of the sons of the said Maurice Longe of the other part, in consideration of three score pounds, the said Lord Mountjoy and his Wife bargained and sold &c. to said Maurice and William his son, the following, viz :—" All that the House tenement or Lodge commonly called the curteyne, and all that parcel of ground and close walled and enclosed with a bricke wall on the west and north parties, called also the Curteyn close, sometime appertaining to the Priory of Haliwell now dissolved, set lying and being in the parish of Shorteditch, in the County of Middlesex; Together with all gardens, fish-ponds, wells, hereditaments, and brick walls, (&c.) to the same belonging, now in the tenure or occupation of — Wilkingeson and Roberte Manne."

By another Indenture of bargain and sale enrolled in Chancery,¹ and bearing date 23 August, 14 Eliz., [1571] made between "Maurice Longe, citizen and Clothworker of London and Jane his wife, on the one partye, and Sir William Allyn, knight, at this present Lord Mayor of the Citye of London, on tother partye," in consideration of Two hundred pounds, the said Maurice and Jane bargained and sold &c. to said Sir William Allyn the piece of ground and house that had been purchased of Lord Mountjoy, by the description of "All that house tenement or lodge commonly called the Curteyn, and all that parcell of ground and close walled and enclosed with a bricke walle on the West and North parts, called also the Curteyn close, (&c., in precisely the same words as in the last mentioned deed.)

By another Indenture of bargain and sale enrolled in Chancery,² bearing date 18 March, 23 Eliz., [1584] made between "William Longe of London Clothworker one of the sonnes of Maurice Longe citizen and Clothworker of London deceased,

¹ Claus. 14 Eliz., p. 17.

² Claus. 23 Eliz., p. 2.

on one partie, and Thomas Harberte citizen and Girdler of London on tother partie," in consideration of a "certain sum," the said William Longe bargained and sold to said Tho^s. Harberte, "All that the house, tenement, or lodge, commonly called the Curtayne, And also all that parcell of ground and close walled and enclosed with a bricke wall on the West and north parties, and in part with a mud wall on the West side or end towards the South, called also the Curtayne close, sometye appertaining to the late Priory of Halliwell now dissolved, set lying and being in the parish of St. Leonard in Shortedyche *alias* Shordiche in the County of Middlesex, With all the Gardens Fish-ponds and brick walls to the premises or any of them belonging : And all and singular other Messuages, tenements edifices and buildings with all and singular their appurtenances, erected and builded upon the said close called the Curtayne, or upon any part or parcell thereof or to the same now adjoining, now or late in the severall tenures or occupations of Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Wilkins, Robert Medley, Richard Hicks, Henry Lanman and Robert Manne, or any of them, or any of their assign or assigns : And also all other messuages, lands, and tenements, and hereditaments, with their appurtenances, set, lying, and being in Halliwell Lane, in the said parish of St. Leonard."

In the licences or patents of alienation granted upon this occasion, cited below,¹ (for this property, being holden of the Crown in capite, could not be aliened without licence enrolled,) the property is somewhat differently and more concisely described as "*totam illam parcellam terre cum pertinen' inclus' muro lapideo vocat' a bricke wale, vulgariter vocat' seu cognit' per nomen de le Curteyne jacen' in australi parte domus sive mansionis Comit' Rutland, nuper dissolut' priorat' de Holliwell quondam pertinen', jacen' in paroch' Sci' Leonardi in Shordiche in Com' Midd'.*"

¹ Pat. 23 Eliz., p. 10, m. 34. Pat. 23 Eliz., p. 6.

It being disclosed by the preceding conveyances, and by inspection of the licences of alienation, that Sir Thomas Leighe of Hoxton House had been in possession of this ground and house which had formed part of the dissolved priory of Holywell or Haliwell, I referred to the last edition of Dugdale's Monasticon; but the additions made to that work, under "Haliwell," being "a particular of the grant," did not assist or further my inquiries; for as no portion of this part of Holywell Nunnery was in 36 Hen. VIII. granted to Webb, the person who was the grantee of the site of the Nunnery, I conceive that the particulars of the original grant of this portion of the Monastery are lost. However, I found the inquisition taken by the escheator or feodary upon the death of Sir Thomas Leighe, the father of Lady Mountjoy, by which it appears that this part of Holywell Nunnery was conveyed by Lord Wriothsley to Leigh, with other possessions of the Nunnery. I was unable to find any enrolment of the conveyance to Sir Thomas Leighe from Lord Wriothsley: the reader must therefore be content with the description of these premises as given in this inquisition, which was taken 25 November, 35 H. 8, [1543] whereby it was found that Sir Thomas Leighe died seised of land in Shoreditch, Holywell, Hogsden, and Hackney, all of which had thentofore formed part of the possessions of the dissolved Nunnery or Priory of Holywell: amongst these occurs the following description of the beforementioned ground, viz.:

"One other close there, inclosed with a stone wall lying on the South side of the House or mansion of the Lord Earl of Rutland."—(*Translation.*)

So that I do not find this piece of land commonly known or called by the name of the Curtain till the 9th Eliz. [1566] when it would seem the "Curtain" imparted a name not only to the "House, lodge, or tenement," but to the piece of land adjoining, called "the Curtain close;" but I make no observation upon this,

not desiring to add any suggestion of mine own, as the previous intelligence upon this fact is so meagre.

In Ellis's *History of Shoreditch* (4to. Lond. 1798) I find nothing concerning this Curtain, which in the Inquisition of the 35th H. VIII. not long after the dissolution is described as a close inclosed by a stone wall, save the following entries in the Parish Register, which allude to the Curtain and to some of the histrionic dwellers at Holywell : as the book has been so long in print, I have only extracted those entries which may serve to render this article somewhat complete :—

“Joane Dowle, the wife of Isaac Dowle, buried the 19th of Februarie. Curtayn.” (1580.)

“Oliver Stiddard, the sonne of Thomas Stiddard, bapt. 17 Feb. Curtaine.” (1582.)

“John Aynsworth (the player). Sept. 28, 1582.”

“Agnes Beal, the daughter of Richard Beal, was baptized June 6. Curtaine.” (1583.)

“Richard Tarrelton was buried the Sep. 3, 1588. Halliwell Street.” [the then name of the present High Street of Shoreditch.¹]

“Humphrey . . . from the Curtaine Garden, buried the 25th of Aprill. Curtaine.” (1592).

“James Burbege, the sonne of Cuthbert Burbege, buried the 15th Julye, 1597.”

“James Burbedge was buried the 2d of February, 1596, from Halliwell.

“Richard Burbadge, Player, was bur. 16 March, 1618-19. Halliwell Street.”²

¹ This description is retained in the parish Register to this day.

² There are many other entries concerning Burbage's family, as well as in the Parish Register of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate. 1620-1625.

“George Wilkins¹ (Poet), Aug. 9th, 1613, buried.”

“Margery, the daughter of William Banister, and Jane his wife, was bur. 31 January (1639) from the Curtaine House.”

“John, the Sonne of Wm. Hyemarth, and Joane, his wife, was baptized the same day, from the Curtaine House, 15 March, 1639.”

“Cuthbert Cowlye, the sonne of Richard Cowlye, was baptized the 8th day of May, from Allins.” (1597.)

With regard to the site of the Curtain, it may be traced in an engraved Survey or Map of Shoreditch, 1745, as a court called Curtain Court:² in later maps of London, the road or street in front of this court is called or described as “The Curtain” to within the last fifty years. A new road, constructed some thirty or forty years since, in the immediate neighbourhood, still bears the name of the Curtain Road.

The etymology or derivation of the word Curtain is to be drawn from the mediæval Latin.

Ducange (ed. Paris, 1733), under the word CORTINA, CURTINA, describes a Curtain as being *minor curtis, seu rustica area, quæ muris cingitur*. The words CORTIS, or CURTIS, he describes as “*Atrium, impluvium ædificiis cinctum, nostris Court.*” —CURTIS MONASTERII, and CORTIS CÆNOBII are words, he informs us, signifying the inner court or cloisters of a monastery (a quadrangle). Indeed, in addition to the numerous authorities he quotes for this interpretation, he cites “*Vita Burchardi Wormiacensis Episcopi — Curtim suo muro, civitatem instar castelli*

¹ He was the author (with W. Rowley and John Day) of “The Travels of the Three English Brothers, Sir Thos. Sir Anth. and Mr. Rob. Shirley,” a tragi-comedy, London, 1607: likewise of “The Miseries of enforced Marriage,” London, 4to, 1607, 1629, 1631.

² The Maps of Shoreditch given in the editions of Stow, 1722 and 1754, do not allude to this court by this name. The Survey of 1745 was, as I am informed by the Curate, a Parochial Survey, and consequently the most correct.

circumdedit. From CURTINA, the diminutive of CORTIS, or CURTIS, we have the term *Curtain* in fortification, as well as *Curtain*, a vail or tapestry, which was so termed from being hung around the nave or choir of a monastery on solemn occasions, thereby inclosing it. In the recently published *Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond*, edited by the Camden Society, the chronicler, in describing the effects of a fire occasioned by the carelessness of his fellow monks, says, in self-gratulation, "What would it have been had the church been curtained?" [sed quod fieret si cortinata esset ecclesia?]¹ In fo. 9 of the *Registrum de Clerkenwell*, Cott. MSS. Faustina, B. II., fo. 9, occurs the donation of Arnulph de *Curtona*; but as this is a detached circumstance, I draw no particular inference from it beyond the existence of a place or house called "The Curtain" in the 12th century.²

THOMAS EDLYNE TOMLINS.

Islington, March 9, 1844.

¹ Chron. Jocelini de Brakelond, fo. 152, p. 79, of the printed copy, and p. 31, col. 1, of the Translation.

² *Cortis* vel *Curtis* nomen pro toto vico, qui villæ alicui magnificæ accesserat accreveratque, à Scriptoribus nostris acceptum fuisse, docet Valesius ex plurimis vicorum nominibus in *Court* desinentibus, qualia sunt præceteris Bettonis Cortis non una, *Betancourt*; Hunulfi Curtis, *Hormcourt*; Alamannorum Curtis, *Aumencourt*: Harecortis, *Harcourt*; et alia quas indicat in *Notitia Gall.* pp. 416, 418, 419; et in *Præfat.* pp. xix. et xx. *Ducange*, voce *Cortis.* ed. 1733, p. 1106.

ART. IX.—*Mr. Campbell's Life of Shakespeare.*

In Mr. Campbell's *Life of Shakespeare*, prefixed to Moxon's edition, in one volume, 1838, there is a beautiful passage relating to "The Tempest," in which, however, a singular oversight is committed, which it may be worth while to point out. It occurs where the author of "The Pleasures of Hope" is speaking of "The Tempest" as our great dramatist's last work, and drawing a parallel between Prospero burying his magic staff and drowning his book, and Shakespeare laying aside what Milton calls his "singing robes," relinquishing the magic art he had so long practised in connection with the stage, and retiring to his native town. Mr. Campbell's expressions, and no better could well be chosen, are these:—

"'The Tempest,' however, has a sort of sacredness, as the last work of the mighty workman. Shakespeare, as if conscious that it would be his last, and as if inspired to typify himself, has made its hero a natural, dignified, and benevolent magician, who could conjure up spirits from the vasty deep, and command supernatural agency by the most seemingly natural and simple means.—And this final play of our poet has magic, indeed; for what can be simpler in language than the courtship of Ferdinand and Miranda, and yet what can be more magical than the sympathy with which it subdues us? Here Shakespeare himself is Prospero, or rather the superior genius who commands both Prospero and Ariel. But the time was approaching when the potent sorcerer was to break his staff, and bury it fathoms in the ocean—

'Deeper than did ever plummet sound.'

That staff has never been and never will be recovered." p. lxi.iii.

After copying this very charming passage, we can hardly bring ourselves to find any fault with it; but, nevertheless,

there is a mistake in it, as regards the text, which ought to be pointed out; because not only is it likely that others may, but others have (and learned and acute ones too) fallen into the error. We allude to the very ingenious and well-informed Joseph Hunter, who, in his "Disquisition on the Tempest," published in 1839, has quoted (p. 63) the preceding extract, with due applause, but apparently without being aware of the perversion of Shakespeare's language which it contains. Prospero did not bury his "staff" in the ocean—

"Deeper than did ever plummet sound"—

but his book. It is true that he buried his "staff," or undertook to do so, after breaking it; but he was to bury it, as he expressly states, "certain fathoms *in the earth*," while it was his book that he was to drown by plunging it *in the ocean* "deeper than did ever plummet sound." This will be quite obvious from the lines themselves, which we beg to quote, *verbatim et literatim*, from the original folio of 1623, now lying open before us, and to which we delight at all times to resort, as the greatest literary monument that was ever erected by and to any author in the history of the world.

"But this rough Magicke
I heere abiure: and when I have requir'd
Some heauenly Musicke (which euen now I do)
To worke mine end vpon their Sences, that
This Ayrie-charme is for I'le breake my staffe,
Bury it certaine fadomes in the earth,
And deeper then did ever Plummet sound
Ile drowne my booke."

Sign. B. 2 b.

The misrepresentation of the language of Shakespeare in this instance of course makes no difference in the beautiful,

and perhaps not altogether fanciful, theory Mr. Campbell has raised upon it; because, giving all credit for the ability and knowledge Mr. Hunter has displayed, we are not at all satisfied with his notion regarding the early composition of "The Tempest," and firmly hold to the belief, upon which Mr. Campbell founds himself, that it was one of the latest, if not the very latest, work of the Magician of Mankind.

In reference to the first folio of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies," may I avail myself of this opportunity of mentioning a fact, of which, I think, due notice has not been taken? I mean that, although most of the known copies are dated 1623, there is at least one copy in existence with the date of 1622; showing, perhaps, that there was an intention to publish the volume in 1622, although it was not registered in the books of the Stationers' Company until November 8, 1623. In the same way, there is a single copy of the third folio, dated 1663, and not 1664, like all the others known: it has also the portrait on the title-page, (omitting any mention of the attributed plays) and not on the fly-leaf. These matters may seem trifling to some, but to me nothing relating to Shakespeare can be a trifle.

L. L. D.

ART. X. — *Observations on the correct method of punctuating a line in "Hamlet," act i., sc. 2, with reference to the exact force of the word too-too.*

The well known passage in Hamlet commencing with the line,

"O ! that this too, too solid¹ flesh would melt,"

which I give as printed by Mr. Collier, and the best of modern editors, does not appear at first sight to merit any alteration, or invite any fancied improvement even from the most hypercritical or conjectural commentator ; and I am afraid I shall be accused of sad want of taste in suggesting any innovation, more especially as I can hardly bring myself to believe that the change would be poetically beneficial. I have, indeed, been convinced almost against my will, and certainly in opposition to whatever ear I may have for Shakespearian poetry, that we must henceforth read,

"Oh, that this *too-too* solid flesh would melt,"

regarding *too-too* essentially as one word ; and I propose to place before the reader reasons sufficiently cogent to warrant this conclusion. I would, however, premise that I see no absolute necessity for altering the pronunciation, save the entire dropping of the comma in the middle of the line.

The comma, indeed, is entirely a modern introduction ; and in a copy of the second folio belonging to me the hyphen is found exactly as I have given it above. So, also, let any one look at the passage in the Merry Wives, act ii., sc 2, "I could drive her then from the ward of her purity, her reputation, her marriage-vow, and a thousand other her defences, which now

¹ The quarto editions, including the later one of 1637, read "sallied."

are *too-too* strongly embattled against me," in any of the early editions, and he will find the word *too-too* so printed with a hyphen. Compare also 2 Henry VI., in the second folio, p. 126,—

"I prethee peace, good Queene,
And whet not on these too-too furious Peeres,
For blessed are the Peace-makers on Earth."

which I transcribe *verbatim*, to show that the connected word is recognized in the early editions of Shakespeare.

But why adopt the early method of printing the word? why not separate it? and what is the meaning of *too-too*? The answer to the last question will negative the others. *Too-too* is a provincial word recognized by Ray, and explained to be used "absolutely for very well or good," and Watson, a few years afterwards, says it is "often used to denote *exceeding*." See Notes to the First Sketches of Henry VI., p. 196. The term "*exceeding*" exactly explains *too-too* in the numerous instances I have collected, and how well does it apply to the passages above quoted. As a recognised archaism, I do not think we can safely mutilate the word in a manner which certainly alters the meaning of the term as originally implied.

I have not met with the word earlier than the time of Skelton,¹ who uses it in his Interlude of "*Magnyfycence*," printed by Rastell, without date,—

"He doth abuse
Hymselfe *to-to*."

which is evidently the same word that is used by Shakespeare. But with Elizabethan authors the word was frequently used,

¹ The recent editor of Skelton, Mr. Dyce, has misunderstood the word, although he quotes a provincial proverb including it. See i. 249.

This may be the proper place to notice that Mr. Dyce has not mentioned the MS. of "*Why Come ye Nat to Courte*," in the Bodleian Library,

and I beg to offer the following examples as proofs of my opinion that TOO-TOO, as used by our early writers, is one word, denoting "exceedingly," and that it ought to be so printed:—

"I mought thereby helpe those that are diseased with any of these diseases, either of dice-playing, dauncing, or vain playes or enterludes, which raigneth too-too much."—*Northbrooke's Treatise*, 1577.

"Anything but vertue it can tollerate to thrive, and that it is too-to afrajd of."—*Nashe's Christs Teares over Jerusalem*, 1594, fol. 15.

"The horrible vice of whoredome is too-too much frequented, to the great dishonour of God."—*Stub's Anatomie of Abuses*, 1595, p. 59.

"If he acknowledge not, he is too-too unkinde bothe to God and to her majestie, and to his owne countrie."—*Lambarde's Perambulation*, 1596, p. 348.

"Tully, eloquent in his gloses, yet vaine glorious; Saloman, wise, yet too-too wanton."—*Lyly's Euphues*.

"The word of God doth shew plainly that there be witches, and commaundeth they should be put to death. Experience hath taught too-too many what harmes they do."—*Gifford's Dialogue on Witches*, 1603.

which has many important variations; and although he has informed us (pref., p. li.) that macaronic poetry did not commence with Skelton, by quoting, as from a MS., a work which has been printed by the Shakespeare Society, he does not any where allude to the fact that Gower had written a few lines of what is called Skeltonical metre. See the *Confessio Amantis*, MS. Bib. Antiq. Soc. 134, fol. 119^b, and Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, pp. 369-370.

“For Lewis his right, *alasse*, tis *too-too* lame,
A *senslesse* claime, if truth be titles friend.”

The Troublesome Raigne of King John, 1611.

“And may they so persever, and
So perish, Robin prayes ;
But *too-too* zealous people are,
Too many cloy my wayes.”

Warner's Albion's England, 1612.

“Had *Lesbia*, *too-too* kind, but known
This sparrow, she had scorn'd her own.”

Herrick's Works, i. 143.

“And superstitious disordred orders,
Too-too luxuriant in the British borders.”

Billingsley's Brachy-Martyrologia, 1657, p. 162.

“Down the stairs he hurried quickly,
While I made me *too-too* sickly.”

Barnaby's Journal.

“And wou'd have gull'd him with a trick,
But Martin was *too-too* politic.”

Hudibras, II., iii. 158.

An attentive perusal of these examples will readily convince the reader that a mere duplication of the *too*, more especially with a comma dividing the word, will neither suit the context, nor the explanations of Ray and Watson. It is scarcely necessary to multiply more instances, but in the event of any one wishing to pursue the subject further, I will add the following references : — *Promos and Cassandra*, 1st part, act iii., sc. 6, and act v., sc. 5 ; *Randolph's Jealous Lovers*, 1646, p. 19, and 21 ; *Wither's Abuses*, p. 43 ; *The Troublesome*

Raigne of King John, 1611, (two more instances) ; Herrick's Works, ii., 27 ; Randolph's Poems, 1643, p. 12 ; Randolph's Amyntas, 1640, p. 82 ; Marlowe's Dido, act v., sc. 1, and act v., sc. 2 ; Marlowe's Hero and Leander, p. 334 ; The Return from Parnassus, act v., sc. 1 ; Wily Beguiled, ap. Hawkins, p. 340 ; Loocrine, act i., sc. 2, and act v., sc. 5 ; British Bibliographer, ii., 320 ; Harrison's Description of Britaine, pp. 108, 129, 193, 202, 220 ; British Bibliographer, iv., 205 ; The Misfortunes of Arthur, act iii., sc. 1, and act v., sc. 1 ; The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon, act ii., sc. 1 and 2, and act iii., sc. 1 ; A Woman is a Weathercock, act ii., sc. 1 ; Amends for Ladies, act ii., sc. 2 ; Ashmole's Theat. Chem. Brit., p. 335 ; Beaumont and Fletcher, iii. 171 ; Young's Night Thoughts, ed. 1827, p. 303.

Many more references might no doubt be added, but what are here brought together will be quite sufficient to enable the reader to understand fully the force of the word *too-too* as used by our early writers.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have observed an earlier instance of *too-too* in an unpublished romance in the Thornton MS., in the library of Lincoln Cathedral. This MS. was written in Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VI., and the passage which contains *too-too* is as follows :—

“ 3erne he prayes hyme *to-too*,
His nyne sonnes with hym to goo.”

ART. XI.—*The Song of The Willow, in Othello.*

In vol. vii., p. 607 of the edition of Shakespeare's Plays and Poems, recently published by Messrs. Whittaker and Co., it is mentioned, in a note, that there is a song by old John Heywood, the dramatist, epigrammatist, virginal-player, and theatrical instructor of the reign of Henry VIII., with the same burden as the ballad, part of which is assigned to Desdemona, in act iv., sc. 3 of "Othello," viz :—

"Sing all the green will must be my garland."

As the members of the Shakespeare Society may like to see this curious relic of a man of so much ability and distinction as the author of the interludes of "The Four Ps," "John Tib and Sir John," &c. I subjoin it, observing, that it is contained in a manuscript of the time, the property of the late B. H. Bright, Esq., who lent it me many years since, in order that I might transcribe such portions as I thought the most valuable: the whole of the manuscript well deserved to be copied, but I had not then time to make more than a few extracts, one of which was the following, rendered peculiarly inviting by its obvious connection with one of the greatest works of our greatest dramatist. It has never been anywhere noticed but in the place referred to at the commencement: it is called—

"A BALLAD OF THE GREEN WILLOW.

*"All a grene wyllow, wyllow,
All agrene wyllow is my garland.*

"Alas ! by what meane may I make ye to know
The unkyndnes for kyndnes that to me doth growe,
That one, who most kynd love on me should bestow,

Most unkynd unkyndness to me she doth show :

For all the grene wyllow is my garland.

“ To have love, and hold love, where love is so sped,

Oh, delicate foode to the lover so fed !

From love won to love lost where lovers be led,

Oh desperate dolor ! the lover is dead ;

For all the grene wyllow is his garland.

“ She sayde she dyd love me, and would love me still ;

She sware above all men I had her good will :

She sayde and she sware she would my will fulfill,

The promyse all good, the performans all yll ;

For all the grene wyllow is my garland.

“ Now, wo worth the wyllow, and wo worth the wyght

That wyndeth wyllow, wyllow garland to dyght :

That dole delt in almys is all amyss quyght,

Where lovers are beggers for almys in syght,

No lover doth beg for this wyllow garland.

“ Of this wyllow garland the burden seem'th small,

But my break-neck burden I may it well call :

Like the sow of lede on my hede it doth fall,

Break hed, and break necke, back, bones, brayn, hart and all :

All parts prest in peces.

“ Too yll for her thynk I best things may be had ;

Too good for me thynkethe she thyngs beyng most bad :

All I do present her that may make her glad ;

All she doth present me that may make me sad.

This equyitie have I with this wyllow garland.

“ Could I forget thee as thou canst forget me,

That were my sound salve, which cannot nor shalbe :

Though thou lyke the soryng hawke every way fle,
 I wylbe the turtle most stedfast still to thee,
And paciently weare this grene wyllow garland.

“All ye that have had love, and have my lyke wrong,
 My lyke truthe and paciens plant still you among.
 When femynyne fancies for new love do long,
 Old love can not hold them, new love is so strong.
For all.

FINIS qd. IHON HEYWOOD.”

If this song show nothing else, it proves how ancient was the burden of the song, some snatches of which are sung by Desdemona. The ballad printed by Percy in his *Reliques* (i., 212, ed. 1812) from a copy in the Pepysian Collection at Cambridge, is obviously a comparatively modern re-impression (about the year 1640 or 1650) of a much older production, though perhaps not so ancient as the song by John Heywood just quoted: independently of any connection with Shakespeare, it is worth preserving. I therefore send it to be included in the “Papers” of the Society, the main purpose of which is to illustrate our early Drama and Stage.

A “BALLAD-MONGER.”

May 3, 1844.

[Since the above was transmitted, Mr. Bright's manuscripts have been sold and dispersed. It appears to have formed lot 245 in the catalogue issued by Sotheby and Wilkinson in June, 1844.]

ART. XII.—*Court Revels in the Reign of Henry the Seventh.*

The following very curious and unprinted details are copied from MS. Harl., No. 69. They clearly deserve perpetuating; and this end may be accomplished through the medium of the Shakespeare Society, by being included in its Papers. Court Revels, Disguisings, and Pageantry, are intimately connected with the origin and history of our Stage: and how important an influence they had upon it may easily be seen by reference to the "Hist of Engl. Dram. Poetry," where many particulars of the kind are furnished. What follows is not there, the author apparently not having been acquainted with the manuscript in which it is found. It is not contemporaneous, but was transcribed from the now lost originals by Ralph Starkey, in 1617. He entitles the volume, "The Booke of certaine Triumphes," and the ensuing particulars are thus headed:—

"The first booke of the Justs and Banketts and Disguisings used at the Intertaynement of Katherine, wife to Prince Arthure, eldest sonne to King H[enry] 7."

According to Stow and other chroniclers, the marriage took place at St. Paul's, on the 14th November: a grand entertainment was afterwards given in Westminster Hall; but we have nothing to do with any part of the ceremony but the "Disguising," which appears to have been of the most cumbrous and costly description. We shall not forestal the forcible simplicity of the old narrator of the show, but give it in his own very intelligible, but at the same time quaint language. We are sure that the members of the Shakespeare Society generally would not like it to be modernized.

"The Queene, my Ladye the King's Mother, the Ladye Princesse, with a goodly company of fresh ladyes and gentle-

women of the Court and realme awaiting on her, had made to the said Hall their repair all. And in this foresaid place, when the K. and the Q. had taken their noble seates under their clothes of estate, and every other nobles were ordered in their roomes worshipfull and convenient, then began and entered this most goodly and pleasant disguising, conveyed and showed in pageants proper and subtile, of whom the first was a Castle, right cunningly devised, sett upon certaine wheelles and drawne into the said great hall of fower great beasts, with chaines of gold. Two of the first beasts were lyons, one of them of gold and thother of silver: one of the other was a hart with guilt hornes, and the second of the same was an Ibeke, which every each of the which foure beastes were two men, one in the fore part, and another in the hinder part, secretly hid and apparelled, nothing seene but their leggs, and yet those were disguised after the proportion and kinde of the beasts that they were in. And thus this Castle was by the foure beastes properly conveyed from the nether part of the hall before the K. and Q., being in the upper part of the same hall. There were within the same Castle disguised viij. goodly and fresh ladyes, looking out of the windowes of the same, and in the foure corners of this Castle were iiij. turrets, that is to say in every square one sett and appearing above the height of it, in the which of every of these turrets was a little child apparelled like a maiden. And so all the foure children singing most sweetly and harmoniously in all the comming the length of the hall till they came before the K. Ma^{tie}, where, when it had come, conveyed and set himself somewhat out of the waye towards the one side of the hall.

“The second Pageant was a shippe, in likewise sett upon wheelles without any leaders in sight, in right goodly apparell, having her mast toppes, sayles, and her tackling and all other appertenances necessary unto a seemly vessell, as though it had been sayling in the sea, and so passed through the hall by the whole length, till they came before the King somewhat besides

the Castle. At the which time the maskers of the shippe and their company, in their countenances, speaches, and demeanor, used and behaved themselves after the manner and guise of mariners, and there cast their anchors somewhat besides the said Castle: in the which shippe there was a goodly and a faire ladye in her, appparelled like unto the Princesse of Spaine: out and from the said shippe descended downe by a ladder two well beseene and goodly persons, calling themselves Hope and Desire, passing towards the rehearsed Castle with their banners, in manner and forme as ambassadors from knights of the Mount of Love unto the ladyes within the Castle, making a great instance in the behalfe of the said knights for the intent to attaine the favour of the said ladyes present, making their meanes and entreates as wooers, and breakers of the maters of love betweene the knights and the ladyes: the said ladyes gave their small answer of utterly refuse, and knowledge of any such company, or that they were ever minded to the accomplishment of any such request, and plainly denied their purpose and desire. The two said ambassadors therewith taking great displeasure, shewed the said ladyes that the knights would for this unkind refusall make battayle and assault, so and in such wise to them and their Castle, that it should be grievous to abyde their power and malice.

“ Incontinent came in the third Pageant, in likeness of a great hill or mountaine, in whom there was inclosed viij. goodly knights with their banners spredd and displayed, naming themselves knights of the Mount of Love, the which passed through the said Hall towards the King's grace, and there they took their standing upon the other side of the shippe. And then these two ambassadors departed to the knights, being within the Mount, their M^{rs}. shewing the disdaine and refusall with the whole circumstance of the same. So as they, therewith not being content, with much malice and courageous minde, [went] a little from the said Mount with their banners displayed, and hastely

sped them to the rehearsed Castle, which they forthwith assaulted soe and in such wise that the ladyes yealding themselves descended from the Castle and submitted themselves to the power grace and will of those noble knights, being right freshly disguised and the ladyes also, fower of them after the English fashion, and the other foure after the manner of Spaine, daunced together divers and many goodly daunces, and in the time of their dauncing the three Pageants, the Castle, the Shippe and the Mountaine moved and departed. The same wise the disguisers rehersed, as well the knights as the ladyes after certaine leasure of their solace and disport avoyded and vanished out of their sight and presence. And then came downe the L. Prince and the Lady Cecill, and daunced two baas daunces and departed up againe, the L. Prince to the King and the Lady Cecill to the Queene. Eftsoones the Lady Princesse, and one of her Ladyes with her, in apparell after the Spanish guise, came downe, there dauncing other two baas daunces, and departed againe bothe up to the Queene. Third and last came downe the Duke of Yorke, having with him the Ladye Margret, his sister, in his hand, and daunced two baas daunces, and afterwards he, perceiving himselfe to be accombred with his clothes, sodainly cast of his gowne and daunced in his jacked with the said Ladye Margaret in so goodly and pleasant manner, that it was to the King and Q. right great and singular pleasure, and so departed againe, the Duke to the Kinge and the Ladye to the Queene. This disguising royall thus ended, beganne the voydee to enter in this manner of a bankett," &c.

To this succeeds a list of the rich presents of plate and treasure to the Spaniards who had escorted the Princess Katherine to this country; and before they quitted the kingdom, a Spaniard, who had come with them, exhibited feats of rope-dancing before the king, queen, and court: it is very evident,

from the style and nature of the description, that such a display was then quite a novelty in this country, but afterwards it became common enough. We are told—

“Also there was sett up and areared two high and great posts with croches, these posts fast sett and driven into the ground : over the croches was a great cable stretched stedfastly and drawn with a wheele, and stayd upon both the sides with divers cordes, so great that the sight of it was like unto the rigging of an house : upon the frame and cable ascended and went up a Spanyard, the whiche shewed there many wonders and deliverous points of tumbling and dauncing, and other sleights.”

After the Spaniard had thus exhibited, to the great satisfaction of the royal party and their attendants, another “disguising” took place, into the details of which, after what we have already given, it would perhaps be tedious to enter. We may mention, however, that by way of variety live rabbits and doves were introduced, the first let out by male, and the last let fly by female dancers.

The same manuscript from which the above are extracted contains also “certain notes” of “an entertainment of Katherine Dowager,” on her subsequent and unfortunate marriage with Henry VIII. These have no peculiar claim to notice, farther than that Jaques Hault, who is not unfrequently mentioned in connexion with the court amusements of that date, was principally concerned in making the preparations.

ALFRED T. GOODWIN.

ART XIII.—*Imitation of Shakespeare by Shelley, in his Tragedy of "The Cenci."*

I cannot think it foreign to the purpose of the Shakespeare Society, especially on the publication of its "Papers," to point out authors, even in modern times, who have borrowed from Shakespeare without acknowledgment. I shall do so very briefly, in reference to two or three passages in "*The Cenci*," by Percy B. Shelley, originally printed at Leghorn in 1819, and recently reprinted in the collection of his Works, the editorship of which was undertaken in 1839 by Mrs. Shelley. I was induced to read "*The Cenci*" again, from the wish of a modern manager of a theatre to produce it, if possible, on the Stage; but I had marked the plagiarisms in my copy of the Leghorn edition more than twenty years ago.

Shelley himself was anxious that it should be performed, and that the parts of Cenci and of his daughter Beatrice should be acted by Kean and Miss O'Neill; but the repulsive nature of the story, a difficulty which the author vainly fancied he had overcome, rendered it then out of the question; and in truth the objection never can be overcome.

It is rather strange that the palpable imitations I am about to mention, from three of Shakespeare's most popular plays, never have been pointed out; but I have looked back to the reviews and notices of "*The Cenci*," printed soon after its first appearance, and I find no remark upon them. One line I have seen quoted more than once, as a noble proof of Shelley's original powers:—

"I see, as from a tower, the end of all."

The Cenci, act ii., sc. 2.

What is this but a line from Shakespeare's "Richard III.," with the alteration of a word or two?

"I see, *as in a map*, the end of all,"

is the exclamation of Queen Elizabeth, in act ii., sc. 4; and yet Shelley not only makes no confession of his obligation, but actually claims a merit in his preface for having borrowed nothing but in one place from Calderon's *El Purgatorio di San Patricio*. It may be that he unconsciously fell into the mistake of supposing the line his own. In act iii., sc. 2, of "The Cenci," we meet with a copy of a well-remembered passage in "Othello." Shelley makes Giacomo thus contemplate the murder of his father, likening the flame of life to the flame of a lamp burning near him:—

"And yet, once quench'd, I cannot thus relume
My father's life."

So Othello (act v., sc. 2), meditating the murder of Desdemona, and contemplating her by the light of a lamp, says:—

"If I *quench thee*, thou flaming minister,
I can again thy former light restore,
Should I repent me; but once put out thy light,
Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature,
I know not where is that Promethean heat
That can thy light relume."

Shelley was fond of the figure; for just before, looking at the lamp, Giacomo exclaims:—

"But that no power can fill with vital oil
That broken lamp of flesh."

Just afterwards, in the same scene, we have a passage which could not have been written, or at all events not so worded,

but for some lines in "Hamlet," so well known that they need not be quoted ;

"nor all the taunts

Which from the prosperous weak misfortune takes."

The Cenci, act iii., sc. 2.

In the first scene of the same act we meet with a thought and an expression decidedly borrowed from Shakespeare's Sonnets. Orsino is supposing that Beatrice, by permitting crime, may in the end become criminal :—

"subdued even to the hue

Of that which thou permittest."

Here we have an imitation, or, more strictly, a copy of a couplet in Shakespeare's 91st Sonnet, where he is reflecting upon his own mode of life as a player, then looked down upon as most degraded, and to the colour it may give to his whole existence. I transcribe the opening of the Sonnet, in order to make the point more intelligible, but only the two last lines are closely applicable, for Shelley omits the familiar image by which Shakespeare so admirably illustrates his meaning.

"O ! for my sake do you with fortune chide,

The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,

That did not better for my life provide,

Than public means, which public manners breeds :

Thence comes it that my name receives a brand ;

And almost thence *my nature is subdued*

To what it works in—like the dyer's hand."

J. B. B.

ART. XIV.—*Albion, Knight; a Moral Play.*

The following is a fragment of an early dramatic performance, which, as far as is at present known, has no parallel in our language. It is part of a political play, and the only part that has been preserved: not merely no perfect copy has come down to us, but no portion of a copy but that which we have been permitted to use, and which is in the library of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

It consists of twelve closely printed pages in black letter, and seems to have been considerably less than half of the entire production. I noticed it in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," ii., 369; but I could only there insert some brief specimens of it, and it seems to me to deserve reprinting exactly in the form in which it has reached us, in order that those who are curious respecting the productions of our early stage may have an opportunity of judging for themselves of the singular nature and character of the performance.

Whether it was ever acted, and where, are questions it is impossible to answer. In Cotton MS. Vitellius, F. v. (now printing by the Camden Society, under the superintendence of Mr. J. G. Nichols) we find the following memorandum applicable to Christmas, 1559: "The same day at nyght, at the Quene's court, there was a play afore her Grace, the which the plaers plade, shuche matter that they wher commandyd to leyff off, and continently the maske cam in dansing." The MS. consists of notes of singular events, many of them witnessed by the writer, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, and in the beginning of that of Elizabeth; but he does not say that he was present at the time the players were commanded to leave off on account of the objectionable nature of the drama they were representing; neither have we the smallest hint as to the title of the play, but we may perhaps infer that it was political, and, going one step farther, (a considerable step, I admit) we may

suppose that it was the moral play of "Albion, Knight:" those who read what follows will see abundant ground for believing that, if it were exhibited at court, or indeed any where else, in the very outset of the reign of Elizabeth, it could not be acceptable.

It seems not improbable, from the fact that only this fragment has reached us, that after it was printed the piece was suppressed.

According to the registers of the Stationers' Company, 1565 to 1566, Thomas Colwell entered for publication "A mery Playe, bothe pythy and pleasaunt, of Albyon Knight;" and there can be little doubt that what follows is a fragment of the "merry play" which Colwell had printed, and which, very possibly, never was published on account of the offence it had given. It does not touch any points of religious faith, like some of the extant ancient dramas of that period, but it is purely politically didactic. I give it in the words, orthography, and even punctuation, of the original.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

* * * * *

Nay I will taste of other assayes
 And spare our dame for holy daies
 So that for very neede shee must use her feate
 With other of her house, and such as she can geate,
 Yet is she not much to blame
 Though she increase her husbandes name
 Such chyl dren to brynge as now yee see mee
 Tall men as I am unworthie though I bee.

Thou speakest lyke a Lorell full larg & full lewdly *Iustice.*
 And not lyke a childe gotten of true matrimony
 And yet though thy person enduce no lykelyhode
 That in thee shuld be any manhode
 Yet besyde that thou seemest of manhode frayle
 Because so abused is thy lyght apparaile.

Apparell, good syr, what faulte is that *Iniuri.*
 Though grey be her cote why blame ye y^e wild cat.
 Why shuld ye hym deme of nature frayle
 Though as wyse as ye wolde were a Foxtayle
 Or a cote after the comen usage
 Or have by nature a mad vysage
 These be no wytnesse for lustyce to dyserne
 Nor certayne knowledge of nature to lerne
 And christ taught you syr how ye shuld judge men
 Sayenge *Nolite judicare secundum faciem.*
 And yet in nature better knowledge shuld bee
 Then is in apparell ye know perdie.

O yet in apparell is great abusyon *Iustice.*
 If it be framed without dyscretion
 For in apparell there may a great token bee
 Of fraylenes, of pryde, and instabylitie,
 If comen assyse therin use no measure
 For then is apparell a wanton foolysh pleasure
 And foly, best mede is of presumpeyon
 When nature of reason used resumpeyon
 And therefore Chryst taught a great wyse prose
 Sayenge *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.*

Yet with y^e same text I pray you wipe your *Iniuri.*
 nose

Hee said not *Ex vestibis eorum cognoscetis eos.*
 Yet freindes I pray you once agayne *Albion.*
 To seace your travice that breeds disdayne
 And hartely both I do you pray
 That both your frendshyps haue I may.

Syr as for myne ye shall not mysse *Iniury.*
 But thys gentleman I thinke wyll go pysse.

Nay syr Albyon I will not draw backe *Iustice.*
 If that of mee ye have lacke
 So that I were in perfyte suertie
 That this man here shuld manhode bee.

Now Chrystes benedycyte *Iniury.*
 How Albion and Justyce hath forgot mee
 Because of mee they had no exerceyse
 Of long tyme by any enterpryse.
 Wherefore sethen ye can not know me by experience
 I wote not how ye shuld knowe me but by my credence
 Therefore by my trouth & by my honestie
 Beleve mee, for manhode trulie I am hee.

Then by your othe I am content *Albion.*
 To haue your frendshyp with good assent
 And Justice I pray you to do the same.

Syr if manhod be hys name *Iustice.*
 As he hath sworne I wolde be glad
 That hys frendshyp also I had.

Then Iustyce I pray you bothe *Albion.*
 Let mee knyht you both upon hys othe.

And thē he taketh both their hands together saieing
 Now freindes I trust we be all three
 And with this knot I pray you contented to bee.

Syr ye ought to be contented best of all *Iniuri.*
 Where justice is treited with due equitie
 And where no favour nor mede shuld bee
 And when reason hath tried there everie deale
 That such an acte were good for the comen weale
 If therin any losse may bee
 To the disaduauntage of Principaltie
 Such an acte loseth all hys sute
 With a lytle indoysing of reason astute
 And if it touche the Lordes sprytuall
 Or be disadvauntage to the Lordes temporall
 Fare well, go bett, this bill may sleepe
 As well as through the parlyament creepe
 And if that Marchauntes be moouid with all
 Or anie multitude of the comen hall
 This is not for us say they than

This bill is naught but for to wype a pan
 And this is all your new equitie
 And for all your message yet thus will it bee.

Alas if this may not reformed bee *Albion.*
 I shall never be sure of prosperitie.

Ye and what foloweth hereof maister Albion *Iniuri.*
 To your person universall derysion.

Why to me derision. *Albion.*

For all other straunge nacions *Iniuri.*
 They will raile on you with open proclamacions
 Saienge whosoever doe as he dose
 Is halfe a man and halfe a wyld goose.

Why halfe a man and halfe a wyld goose. *Albion.*

For with hie reason they saie ye can dispute *Iniuri.*
 And trie out perils with laborous sute
 And eke the treasure for the comen vaile
 As farr as wit or reason can assaile
 But when all is done and your statute made
 They foorth ye go in a wise trade
 To brynge it all to good conclusion
 And put it never in executyon
 Then speke they further in steede of a mocke
 They have made a statute lyke a woodkocke
 That hath but one eye and the other blynde
 And it wyll turne with euery wynde
 And for because ye study but for the begynnyng
 And never provide for a sure endyng
 Begynnyng lyke a man ye take great assay
 At last lyke a wyld goose even but to flye awaye.

Well if thys be true it is more pytie *Iustice.*
 Yet let us endever both ye and I
 To taste our message that it were done
 To helpe here of some reformacyon.

Ye that to do I pray you bothe *Albion.*
 And to you two I promyse by othe

I shall mee endeuer with the comynaltie
 Theyr hole allegyaunce to keepe in vnytie.

Then God be your spede for I will forth my way *Iustice.*

And I will after god guyde us that best may. *Albion.*

And I wyll tarye no longer whyle *Iniuri.*

But as I see you over the style.

Then departeth Albion & Justice both.

Now here begynneth a game ywys *Iniuri.*

For manhode they wene my name is

But trust me syrs if I shuld not lye

My name is called Injury

Whych name to hyde I thought it polysie

And turne it to manhode, and wote ye why ?

It is a parte of our new experyence

When I agaynst ryght make styffe defence

That Justyce in hys seate may not be enstabled

Then am I Injury manhode called

O than of mee craketh every man

How lyke a lorde this fellow stere can

The lawe to defend without a fall

For all theyr pledyng in Westminster hall,

Or say what they will and bable there

Yet mayntenance and I wyll kepe the chere

If it come once to the countree

Then as I wyll, so shall it bee.

A very cause, syrs, why I hyde my name

Was, they shuld not suspect my fame

Because I wolde spye all theyr intent

To chaunge theyr purpose after my judgement

And so wyll I do for this is theyr pretence

By meane of Justice to brynge in experyence

That peace shuld continew the people amonge

And so, by that meane, to banysh mee wronge.

But trust me, syrs, I will none of that.

But rather by theyr faces I will them scrat

And mee to mayntayne in this opynion
 I have an olde mate called Dyvyccion
 That shalbe of my counsaile in thys case
 Whych I truste wyll not turne hys face
 Tyll Peace be dryven clene from Albyon
 And then let Justyce and mee alone
 For I trust or hee and I have done
 He shall go whystle in a mary bone
 As for any ryghtfull judgement
 That after this shall folow hys intent
 And now syrs will I goo my waye
 My felow to seke, fynde hym if I may.

*Here Injury goeth out and then Division cometh in with a
 byll, a sword a buckler and a dagger.*

Have in a ruske	<i>Divisyon.</i>
Out of the buske	
A lustye captayne.	
A Boore with a tuske	
A sturdie Luske	
Any battaile to deraine	
A stalȝon stoute	
To beare it out	
In every wheare	
And neuer to Loute	
For a knaves cloute	
Though my hed it beare.	
As styffe as a stake	
Battayle to make	
As neuer aferde.	
I can awake	
These knaues and take	
Them fast by the berde.	
For Peace is bent	
Nor full intent	

To lyue at eas
 Shall not prevent
 Let of my judgement
 To alter in dysease.
 Such cast I haue
 To conjure a knaue
 Out of his skynne
 Though justyce raue
 To hange or saue
 Fye on hym horson.

Here cometh Injury in agayne.

Mary fye on hym horeson	<i>Iniuri.</i>
What art thou mad agayne.	
What myne olde friende Injury	<i>Divisyon.</i>
How were other hanged and thou let go by.	
By god because I tooke delaye	<i>Iniury.</i>
For lacke of thee to be myne atturneye	
What horson woldest thou haue mee	<i>Divisyon.</i>
Be trussed up in stede of thee.	
Ye by god, but euen for a saye	<i>Iniury.</i>
That I might lerne of you to know the playe.	
To play horson, what menist thou by that.	<i>Divisiō.</i>
By god me thought even now ye were in a	<i>Iniuri.</i>
snare	
Or els an huntyng to catch an hare	
But harke I say, do together and spell	
Beware ever amonge of the frery clarkes bell.	
It is doubtfull to mee all that thou spekest.	<i>Divisyon.</i>
I pray thee spell it thy self & tell me what thou menest.	
But woldest thou nedes so fayne know it	<i>Iniuri.</i>
I tell thee with Albion and Justyce I am knyt	
Therefore it were wysdome for thee	
To beware what thou sayest before mee.	
What horeson then thou hast forsaken mee	<i>Divisiō</i>

Nay I had lever ye were skynned all three *Iniuri.*
 For I haue turned the wronge syde of my hode
 And tolde them my name was manhode
 And now by god in any wyse
 For both our eases I must haue thyne advyse.

What hast thou now chaunged thyne olde *Divisiō.*

copy

To Justyce and Albyon to be a comen hoby,
 Or art thou a ferde of thy olde name
 That in every place is had in fame
 And is supported in such suffrentie
 From the lowest unto the hyst degree.

Nay by god I was not aferd *Iniuri.*
 It was but for to claw theyr berde
 Or rub it of all that they ment
 That I myght know all theyr intent
 Wherof the matter is to longe to tell
 For the tyme that we dyd mell
 But shortly to shew thee for a conclusyon.
 Theyr mynde is to brynge us both to confusyon.

I pray thee by what meane *Divisiō.*

Albyon hath sent Justyce to Pryncipaltie *Iniuri.*
 To have assystence, and mee to suffreyntie
 Of the Lordes temporall to have theyr ayde
 That Justyce in no wyse shuld be delayde.
 And this thou knowest well inough perdye
 Thus they meane to destroy thee and mee
 And as for Justyce foorth is gone
 Speede as he can, but I taryed alone
 And yet I wolde no messenger bee
 Tyll I had the advyce of thee
 Therfore how sayest thou now in thys case
 Wee shall not be idle to play at thys bace.

Tush as for this I care not a puddyng prycke *Divisiō.*
 For wee two wyll go thorow thyn and thycke

May gresse theyr heades euery chone
 Though they be as harde as rocke or stone.

I pray thee tell mee howe.

Iniury.

Fyrst I myselfe wyll enterpryse

Divisio.

That peace shall have no exersyse
 Betweene the comons and Pryncipalitie
 Nor betweene lords spiritual & lords of the temporaltytie.

Or you go ani further tel me by what mene *Iniury.*

I have two spyes of great exercyse

Divisio.

The one is called double devyce
 Hym wyll I sende I may tell thee
 Unto the court to Pryncypalytye
 And hym wyll I charge that wyth hys provisyon
 Pryncypalytye and the comons to set at dyvysyon
 The seconde spye is called olde debate
 A syngular felow with a ballyd pate
 Hym wyll I send to the lordes spirituall
 To cause them to wrangle w^t the lords temporall

What shall they use in their devise.

Iniuri.

The one to principalytie shall surmyse

Divisiō.

That the comons hartes do ayrse
 Against him, when that he doth aske
 In tyme of neede, our money for taske,
 His harte to mooue with such unkyndnes.
 Then the same spye shall use lyke doublenes
 And go to the comons and to them tell
 That Principalytie with equitie doth rebell
 More to hys lucre in euerie deale
 Applyeng his affection then to the comen weale
 And how that he of neglygence
 Doth not apply for theyr defence
 Neither by Sea nor by londe
 Neither by hye wayes, neither by stronde
 But theues and raueners and murders eke
 Dayly true men they pursue and seke

And that his lawes indifferently
 Be not used, but maintenaunce and brybary
 Is suffred alone without reformation,
 That the poore comons is in altercation
 Of this matter and wote not what to say
 Bringing them in opinion y^t they ought not to pay
 To pryneypalitie theyr duety of very desarte
 Except lyke duetie be mynistred on hys parte.

I make god a vowe this is a soverayne bayte *Iniuri.*
 To brynge our purpose to a narow straye
 But what shall the other spye then do
 A felowshyp tell me that also.

Mary he shall enfourme the lordes temporall *Diuisiō.*
 That the spyrytuall men wolde rule all
 And saye it were shame to them by the rood
 That ben dyscended from the noble blood
 To suffer any other of such powre to bee
 To haue the governaunce about principalytie
 Sythen they inheritoures are borne to bee
 Of the hye counsell by blood and dygnty
 Which medycyne I trow will not lyghlie starte
 Till it hath tyckled them all by the harte
 Then shall the same spye tast the other parte
 And turne to them the wronge side of the carte
 And say that god of his hye great grace
 To them hath geuen good fortune and space
 By lerning sadnes and gravitie
 And for theyr due reward in honour to bee
 And bere to them boldly in hand
 That they ought by reason to rule thys land
 Because the power of temporaltie
 Hath no knowledge in conning perdie
 Neyther in youth will labour the passage
 Of paine for vertue to rule in age

So that if they rulers wold bee
 They know not how for in suffycientie
 Thus will I deuide by thys proper trayne
 That peace amongst them shall not rayne.

Mary thys is a cast of a new horse combe *Iniuri.*
 To rub any on the navyll that hath a tickle wōbe
 This gere will worke after my fantasye
 To make of an olde grudge a new frenesie
 And this openeth the gate euen for mee
 That both the one and the other degree
 Shall wrastle with them selfe in such afflictions
 That euerychone shal disdayne at other jurisdictions.

What wilt thou do thē let me here thy cast. *Divisiō.*

This gentle sede will I sowe at the last *Injuri.*
 When Peace by thee is in perplexitie
 And wote not in what parte quyete to bee
 Then Justice must euer be in doubt
 Which parte at nede shall bere hym out
 So that for my part he shall stand styll
 Whyle I ronne at large and haue all my wyll.

But to what conclusion wyll thou bryng it *Divisiō.*
 then

Why knowest not thou, then harke me man *Iniuri.*
 This Justice is a felow of a farr cast
 And dryueth such dryftes to rule at the last
 And Peace is hys brother of one degree
 Which hath a fayre daughter that is called plentie
 And Albion as long as rest him treates
 Hee loveth fayre flesh of all meates
 And it is a comen saieng that Justice Peace and hee
 Will conclude a maryage with fayre dame plentie
 And then wyll Albyon that olde soot
 With rest and peace so on her doot
 That than shee by her and her freindes
 Shall sayle in stormes at all wyndes.

By gods bread thou sayest trouth *Divisiō.*
 But this to help we must not vse slouth.

No and therfore harke me to an ende *Iniuri.*
 Thou and I shall thys matter defende
 For thou shalt to Albyon a messenger bee
 And say thou were present when principalitie
 With Justyce fell at great debate
 When that his message he dyd delate
 From Albiō and tel him that principalitie in no wyse
 His will with equitytie will graunt to exerceyse
 But that the law should be but after his lykyng
 And every wryt after hys entytelyng
 And that his will who ever lyst to stryfe
 Shuld be the best part for hys prerogatyfe
 And than they both sodeinly uppon thys
 In great rages departed iwys
 Wherefore Justice said I am in such confusyon
 That I am a shamed to turne againe to Albyon
 And when this message thou hast done soberly
 Tell hym thy name is Polysy.

What the devill meanest thou by that *Divisiō.*
 Shuld I decemble from a wyld cat
 That euer before thys haue vsed patchyng
 And now to play the wise man and leaue scratching.

Why horson it is a poynt of hys madnes *Iniuri.*
 For a tyme to desemble sadnes
 And though thou be all redy as mad as a harte
 Yet will I make thee madder then thou arte.

Well say on then *Divisiō.*
 Mary then euen thus I say *Iniuri.*
 When that to Albion thou hast taken thy way
 And done thy message as thee I bad
 He wyll for a while be pensife and sad
 And hee will aske thyne advise
 Then must thou dissemble thy selfe wyse

I make god a vowe that is unpossyble *Divisiō.*
 That I and wysdome shuld knyht in one quyneble
 Or in my braine to print such abusyon
 That wysdome and I shuld be in one conclusion
 For when I was yonge my mother charged mee
 And said beware wyt son though thou neuer thee.

And I am not disposed to chaunge much *Iniuri.*
 your lyve

But here me speke an end though you neuer thrive

Well say on then and tell mee what counsell *Divisiō.*
 I shall geve Albion that may sound well
 To both our profits that wolde I know.

Thou shalt teche him a wronge crosse row
 And tell him best it is after thine advise
 With myrth and prodigalitie him to exercyse
 And take of his owne good while he maye
 Lest all at last be brybid awaye

* * * * *

P.S. Since the above was transcribed, I have found that a drama called "Albion" is included in Kirkman's list, published shortly after the Restoration. It was very likely a much more modern production than "Albion, Knight," and Aurelian Townshend was the author of a Masque entitled "Albion's Triumph," printed in 1631.

J. P. C.

ART. XV.—*Shakespeare's Puck.*

It strikes the writer that a passage in one of Thomas Nash's rare tracts, in his possession, will form an interesting illustration of the following lines in "Midsummer Night's Dream," act ii., scene 1 :—

"*Fairy.* Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite
Call'd Robin Good-fellow. Are you not he,
That frights the maidens of the villagery,
Skims milk, and sometimes labours in the quern,
And bootless makes the breathless housewife churn,
And sometimes makes the drink to bear no barm?
Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck,
You do their work, and they shall have good luck."

The illustrative passage referred to is contained in "The Terrors of the Night," a tract by Nash, printed in 1594, which may give some support to the opinion of Mr. Halliwell that "Midsummer Night's Dream" was written about that year.¹ It does not seem that the following, which is copied literally from the original now before me, has ever been met with by the commentators.

"The Robin-good-fellowes, Elfes, Fairies, Hobgoblins of our latter age, which idolatrous former daies, and the phantastical world of Greece, ycleped Fawnes, Satyres, Dryades, and Hamadryades, did most of their merry pranks in the night. Then ground they malt, and had henpen shirts for their labours, daunst in rounds in greene meadows, pincht maids in their sleep that swept not their houses cleane, and led poor travellers out of their way notoriously."

¹ In his "Introduction to Midsummer Night's Dream," printed in 1841.

Of course the words "then ground they malt" convey the same as what Shakespeare means by "and sometimes labours in the quern," the "quern" being a hand-mill used of old in the trituration of malt and flour, but especially the former. In one of the Shakespeare Society's publications (John Northbrooke's "Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes,") the following explanatory words will be found: "Histories report that he (Plautus) was brought into such povertie, that he was fayne to serve a baker in turning a *querne or handmill* to get his living." This fact Northbrooke adduces as a judgment upon Plautus for having written comedies, and thence he immediately afterwards proceeds to rail against the Theatre and the Curtain, the two houses in Shoreditch, built about 1576 and set apart for dramatic performances.

A BOOK-LOVER.

London, 1844.

ART. XVI.—*Skeltonical Song, by John Heywood, the dramatist.*

Any illustration of our old dramatic poetry, or of our ancient stage, I presume, comes within the objects of the Shakespeare Society : I therefore enclose a specimen of what has been termed "Skeltonical verse," by John Heywood, who may, in some sense, be called the father of our dramatic poetry, since he was the earliest author of productions which are neither "Miracle-plays," founded upon Scripture history, nor "Moralities," consisting of allegorical or abstract impersonations, nor an union of both species of dramatic composition, but are original humorous performances, intended to depict the life and manners of the times in which he flourished—the reign of Henry VIII. In this respect, justice has never been done to John Heywood ; and while the comparatively worthless and indecent rhymes of some of his contemporaries have been republished in portly volumes, John Heywood's works, full of variety and interest, have been almost entirely neglected. I hope yet to live long enough to see this deficiency supplied ; and in the mean time I have the less reserve in forwarding the subsequent extract, because the Rev. A. Dyce, in his late edition of "Skelton's Works," and in his enumeration of the writers of "Skeltonical verses," has wholly omitted John Heywood, although one of Skelton's contemporaries. He will probably not object to see this deficiency supplied, which possibly has arisen in some degree out of the undue neglect with which the works of a man, who was unquestionably the greatest dramatic genius of his age, have been treated. My quotation is from John Heywood's "Play of Love," of which there is an edition in the Bodleian Library, "Printed at London in

Farster laen by John Waley," I think, no where mentioned by bibliographers.¹ It is in the form of a

"SONG IN PRAISE OF HIS MISTRESS.

" And to begyn
 At setting in ;
 Fyrst was her skyn
 Whith, smoth and thyn,
 And every vayne
 So blewe sene playne ;
 Her golden heare
 To see her weare,
 Her weryng gere,
 Alas ! I fere
 To tell all to you
 I shall vndo you.
 Her eye so rollyng
 Ech harte conterollyng ;
 Her nose not long,
 Nor stode not wrong :
 Her finger typs
 So clene she clyps ;
 Her rosy lyps,
 Her chekes gossyps,
 So fayre so ruddy,
 It axeth studdy

¹ The "Biographia Dramatica" mentions, clearly at random, an edition printed in 4to., 1533, without giving any printer's name or other particulars. The Rev. Dr. Dibdin does not include "the Play of Love" among works from the press of John Walley, or Waley: Ames and Herbert are also silent regarding it, and there is no notice of it in Collier's "History of English Dramatic Poetry." Such omissions decisively establish the rarity of "The Play of Love."

The hole to tell ;
It dyd excell.
It was so made,
That evyn the shade
At euery glade
Wolde hartes inuade :
The paps small,
And rounde with all ;
The wast not myckyll,
But it was tyckyll :
The thygh, the kne,
As they sholde be ;
But suche a leg
A lover wold beg
To set eye on,
But it is gon :
Then, syght of the fote
Ryft hartes to the rote.”

Sign. c. i.

There can be no dispute that the above is at least as good as anything of the kind by Skelton ; and if the Rev. A. Dyce had read Heywood's " Play of Love," he could not have failed to quote the song. That he was acquainted with some of the other works of the same poet is obvious, because he cites them here and there, and to good purpose.

PHILO-HEYWOOD.

Oxford, May 20, 1844.

ART. XVII.—*Shakespeare's Bust at Stratford-upon-Avon.*

A member of the Shakespeare Society is desirous to ascertain if the Council, or any member of the Society, can give information whether the bust of Shakespeare in the chancel of the church at Stratford-upon-Avon, placed there by his daughter Susanna and her husband, Dr. Hall (his two executors), a few years after his death, is composed of marble or stone.

The sculptured effigies on the tombs of Clopton and Combe families in the said church are of polished marble, stained according to the colouring of nature, with the habiliments also stained in colours (as was the practice in those days), of which we have evidence among the tombs in Westminster Abbey.

Upon Mr. Malone's visit to Stratford in 1793, he, being displeased with Shakespeare's bust in colour, caused it to be painted over with white paint, upon which an indignant critic, incensed at such defacement, wrote the following lines :—

“Stranger, to whom this monument is shown,
Invoke the Poet's curses on Malone,
Whose meddling zeal his barb'rous taste betrays,
And daub'd his tomstone, as he marr'd his plays.”

The object of the writer is to ascertain if the bust, as originally placed, was of marble stained in colours, or of stone painted in colours with common paints ; for, if it should be of marble stained (like the other effigies in the church), it is presumable that it will not be a difficult process to divest it of its present coat of white paint, and so restore it to its original appearance.

It is reasonable to conclude that the coloured bust was as perfect a likeness of Shakespeare as sculpture could produce, since it was placed there by his daughter Susanna, who, we may be assured, entertained the most affectionate regard for the

memory of her all-gifted father, by placing so distinguished a memorial of him in the parish church. And that she possessed a mind capable of appreciating the exalted genius of that "wonder of the age," may be gathered from the lines inscribed upon her own tomb, after her decease in 1649, viz.—

"Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to salvation was good Mistris Hall;
Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
Wholly of Him, with whom she's now in bliss."

The restoration of the bust to its primitive state seems due not only to the memory of Shakespeare, but also as a tribute of respect to the memory of his daughter, who acted as if she had felt it a duty to transmit the most perfect likeness of him to the admiration of posterity.

With a view towards effecting the proposed restoration, it is submitted to the Society generally, as a request, that such as may feel an interest therein do express their sentiments thereupon (by letter, addressed to the Secretary), in order that the Council may form a judgment whether the public feeling is sufficiently developed as to justify their addressing an application to the proper authorities at Stratford to sanction and give effect to the measure.

ART. XVIII.—*Poem attributed to Thomas Nash.*

When at Oxford, not long since, I met with a manuscript regarding which some brief notice may be desirable: it has reference to a short poem, inserted in the Introduction to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of Nash's "*Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*," p. xxi.

Two stanzas are there attributed to Nash, which stanzas close his edition of Sir Philip Sydney's "*Astrophel and Stella*," in 1591: it is stated, that they have never been mentioned by any of the biographers of Nash; and I believe that the writer of that "Introduction" might have gone farther, and have said that they had entirely escaped notice from the hour of their original appearance to the present.

I do not mean to dispute that they are by Nash, and they are certainly much in his manner; but what I wish to point attention to is the fact, that these two stanzas, (in a different order and with some variations) and a third, are found in manuscript in a volume of Tanner's books in the Bodleian Library. The earlier part of the volume contains several printed productions by Nicholas Breton, including his "*Melancholike Humours*," 1600,¹ but at the end are bound up some

¹ Possibly, room may be spared in a note for a graceful and feeling tribute by Breton to Spenser (who had then been dead only about two years) contained in his "*Melancholike Humours*," and which I do not find noticed by the Rev. Mr. Todd, or by any of the other biographers of the author of "*The Fairy Queen*." It is headed—

"An Epitaph upon Poet Spenser.

"Mournfull Muses, sorrowes minions,
Dwelling in despaire's opinions;
Yee that never thought invented,
How a heart may be contented

poems in manuscript, which may or may not have been by the same author. At all events, the three stanzas are there inserted, and I copied them out for the sake of comparison with the two stanzas assigned to Nash in the Intro-

(But in torments all distressed,
 Hopelesse how to be redressed,
 All with howling and with crying
 Live in a continuall dying)
 Sing a dirge on Spencer's death,
 Till your soules be out of breath.

" Bidde the dunces keepe their dennes,
 And the poets breake their pennes:
 Bidde the Sheeheardes shed their teares,
 And the Nymphes go teare their haire:
 Bidde the schollers leave their reading,
 And prepare their hearts to bleeding:
 Bidde the valiant and the wise
 Full of sorrowes fill their eyes,
 All for griefe that he is gone
 Who did grace them every one.

" Fairy Queene, shew fairest Queene
 How her farie in thee is scene:
 Sheepeheardes Calender set downe
 How to figure best a clowne:
 As for Mother Hubberts tale
 Cracke the nut and take the shale;
 And for other workes of worth,
 (All too good to wander forth)
 Grieve that ever you were wrot,
 And your Author be forgot.

" Farewell Arte of Poetry,
 Scorning idle foolery:
 Farewell true conceited reason,
 Where was never thought of treason:

duction to "Pierce Penniless." They may be thought worth printing in the Papers of the Shakespeare Society, connected as they are with one of its recent publications: I therefore transcribe them, observing merely that the original MS. is decidedly of the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth. They have no title, nor any signature or other mark of authorship at the end, but run thus:—

"I see my hopes must wither in the budde ;
 I see my favours are no lasting flowers ;
 I see that words will breede no better good
 Then losse of tyme, and lyghtninge but at howers.
 Thus when I see, then thus I say therefore,
 That favours, hopes and wordes can blynd no more.

"If floodes of teares could cleanse my follies past,
 Or smokes of sythes myght sacrifyes for sinne ;
 If gronyng cryes could salve my faulte at last,
 Or endlesse mone for error pardon winne,

Farewell judgement, with invention
 To describe a heart's intention :
 Farewell wit, whose sound and sense
 Shewe a Poet's excellence :
 Farewell all in one together,
 And with Spencer's garland wither.

"And if any graces live
 That will vertue honour give,
 Let them shewe their true affection
 In the depth of griefe's perfection,
 In describing forth her glory,
 When she is most deeply sorry,
 That they all may wish to heare,
 Such a song, and such a quier,
 As, with all their woes they have,
 Follow Spenser to the grave."

Then wold I crye, weepe, sythe, and ever mone,
Myne error, fault, sinns, folly, past and gone.

“ Prayse blyndnes (eyes) for seeinge is deceyte ;
Be dumbe, vayne tounge, wordes are but flatteryng wyndes ;
Breake harte and bleed, for there is no receyt
To purge inconstancy from most mens myndes.
And so I wak't amaz'd, and could not move:
I knowe my dreame was true, and yett I love.”

These stanzas follow each other exactly as I have copied them, but it seems to me doubtful whether the last be not a fragment of some other poem in which the writer fancies himself dreaming : I cannot but feel persuaded that I have read it somewhere else. Whether the lines are by Nash, or Breton, or by some other poet of the time, I cannot pretend to determine. Perhaps some member of the Shakespeare Society will be able to decide the point, and will convey the information to me in the next publication of its Papers.

G. L.

ART. XIX.—*Ballad, illustrative of a passage in "The Taming of the Shrew."*

In "The Taming of the Shrew," act ii., sc. 1, occur the following lines :—

" We will have rings, and things, and fine array ;
And, kiss me, Kate, *We will be married o' Sunday.*"

It has always seemed to me, and perhaps to some others, that the lines were either quoted or adapted from some ballad of the time ; and, several years since, an old gentleman, of the name of Wilson, who had, I believe, been a printer in York, gave me the copy of a ballad, which he had put in type, and which he informed me he had received in his youth from a very ancient relative. Mr. Wilson was at that date more than seventy years old, and I understood that his aunt, who was his authority, was considerably older when she recited the ballad to him. This would carry back the production about one hundred and forty years, and I have no doubt that it is considerably older, and possibly the very production alluded to by Petruchio. Be this as it may, the Shakespeare Society will probably think the relic worth preserving in some way, considering the nature of the burden of it, and its resemblance to the exclamation of Petruchio, " We will be married o' Sunday," when, in fact, that does not appear to have been the day on which he intended to be united to Katherine. However, the reader will be able to judge for himself.

I'M TO BE MARRIED O' SUNDAY.

As I walk'd forth one May morning,
I heard a fair maid sweetly sing,
As she sat under her cow milking,
We will be married o' Sunday.

I said, pretty maiden, sing not so,
For you must tarry seven years or mo,
And then to church you may chance to go
All to be married o' Sunday.

Kind sir, quoth she, you have no skill ;
I've tarried two years against my will,
And I've made a promise, will I, or nill,
That I'll be married o' Sunday.

Next Saturday night 'twill be my care
To trim and curl my maiden hair,
And all the people shall say, Look there !
When I come to be married o' Sunday.

Then to the church I shall be led
By sister Nan and brother Ned,
With a garland of flowers upon my head,
For I'm to be married o' Sunday.

Then on my finger I'll have a ring,
Not one of rush, but a golden thing ;
And I shall be glad as a bird in spring,
Because I am married o' Sunday.

And in the church I must kneel down
Before the parson of our good town ;
But I will not soil my kirtle and gown,
When I am married o' Sunday.

Then the bells shall ring so merry and loud ;
And Robin shall go before with his crowd,
But no one shall say I was silly or proud,
Though I was married o' Sunday.

When I come home we shall go to meat :
I will sit by my husband so fine and feat,
Though it is but a little that I shall eat
After I've been married o' Sunday.

Then we shall laugh, and dance, and sing,
And the men shall not kiss me in the ring,
But wish 'twas their chance at this merry making,
To have been married o' Sunday.

At night betimes we shall go to bed,
I with my husband that hath me wed ;
And then there is no more to be said
But that I was married o' Sunday.

It appears to me that the preceding is by no means a dis-
creditable production, either as regards spirit or simplicity, and
it may be as old as the time of Shakespeare.

F. S. A.

Manchester, 2 June, 1844.

ART. XX.—*Early rarity of the works of Robert Greene.*

Robert Greene, as most persons are aware, was the first author who mentioned Shakespeare in print—not indeed by his name, but under the designation of *Shake-scene*: the allusion is contained in the “Groatsworth of Wit,” printed in 1592; and as it has been pointed out ever since the time of Tyrwhitt, and has been noticed by every recent biographer of our great dramatist, it is unnecessary here to say more regarding it. My reason for now taking up my pen is to point out an early proof, not so much of the popularity of Greene as an author, (which, indeed, requires no evidence) but of the scarcity of some of his works, even as early as 1602: it is well-known that when any of them are now sold, even if they consist of only a few leaves, they produce many guineas; and nine years after the death of their author, it seems, they were not ordinarily to be met with in booksellers’ shops, and that some difficulty might be experienced in procuring them.

This fact we have upon the testimony of Samuel Rowlands, a notorious and humorous pamphleteer of the time of Shakespeare, to whom has always been attributed a very pleasant tract, first published in 1602, under the title of

“Tis merrie when Gossips meete. At London, printed by W. W., and are to be sold by George Loftus, at the Golden Ball, in Popes-head alley. 1602.” 4to pp. 46.

There was another impression of it in 1609;¹ and as that edition was reprinted not very many years ago, and some of the members of the Shakespeare Society may be acquainted with

¹ It came out again in 1619, when the title was thus altered, “Well met, Gossip: or, Tis merrie when Gossips meete. Newly enlarged, with divers merrie songs. London, Printed by I. W., for John Deane, and are to be sold at his shop, just under Temple-barre. 1619.”

it, it will be only fit here to say to those who have not seen it, that it consists of a lively dialogue, in verse, between a Wife, a Widow, and a Maid, a Vintner here and there joining in the conversation. The edition of 1602 alone contains the portion of the little work to which I am anxious to direct attention; and its curiosity, in connection with the popular literature of the day generally, and with reference to the productions of Robert Greene in particular, will be seen at once. It is in the form of an introduction, and purports to be a conversation between a gentleman who goes into a bookseller's shop for the purpose of buying all Greene's works, and the apprentice who is attending to his master's business, and who wishes to induce the customer to purchase "Tis merry when Gossips meete," then just issued from the press. It will be observed that it likewise contains a mention of Thomas Nash, and his "Pierce Penniless,"¹ and of various popular productions, some of which are known, and others irretrievably lost. I shall insert this part of Rowland's tract without further preface, confident that it will be read with interest by most of the members of the Shakespeare Society, and as a small contribution to its forthcoming "Papers."

A Conference betweene a Gentleman and a Prentice.

Prentice. What lacke you, Gentleman? See a new Booke new come forth, sir: buy a new Booke, sir.

Gentleman. New Booke say'st? Faith I can see no prettie thing come foorth to my humours liking. There are some old that I have more delight in then your new, if thou couldst helpe me to them.

Prentice. Troth, sir, I thinke I can shew you as many of all sorts as any in London, sir.

¹ Reprinted by the Shakespeare Society from the earliest of three editions, in 1592.

Gentleman. Can'st helpe me to all *Greene's* Bookes in one volume? But I will haue them euery one, not any wanting.

Prentice. Sir, I haue most part of them, but I lack *Conny-catching*, and some halfe dozen more: but I thinke I could procure them. There be in the Towne, I am sure, can fit you: haue you all the parts of *Pasquill*, sir?

Gentleman. All the parts? Why, I know but two, and those lye there vpon thy stalle: them I haue, but no other am I yet acquainted with.

Prentice. Oh, sir, then you haue but his *Mad-cappe* and his *Fooles-cappe*: there are others besides those. Looke you heere, a prettie Booke Ile assure you, sir: tis his *Melancholy*, sir: and ther's another, and you please, sir: heer's *Morall Philosophy*, of the last edition.

Gentleman. What's that with Nashes name to it there?

Prentice. Marry, sir, 'tis *Pierce Pennylesse*, sir: I am sure you know it; it hath beene a broad a great while, sir.

Gentleman. Oh! thou say'st true, I know't passing well; is that it. But where's the new Booke thou telst me of, which is it?

Prentice. Marry, looke you, sir: this is a prettie odd conceit of a merrie meeting heere in *London* betweene a *Wife*, a *Widdow*, and a *Mayde*.

Gentleman. Merrie meeting? why that Title is stale. Ther's a Booke cald *Tis merry when knaues meete*, and ther's a Ballad *Tis merry when Malt-men meete*; and besides there's an olde Prouerbe *The more the merrier*. And therefore I thinke, sure, I haue seene it.

Prentice. You are deceiued, sir, Ile assure you; for I will bee deposed vpon all the Bookes in my shoppe, that you haue not seene it. Tis another manner of thing then you take it to bee, sir; for I am sure you are in loue, or at least will bee, with one of these three: or say you deale but with two, the *Widdow* and the *Mayde*, because the *Wife* is another maile commoditie; is not a prettie thing to carry *Wife*, *Mayde*, and *Widdow*, in your pocket, when you may, as it were, conferre

and heare them talke together, when you will? nay, more, drinke together; yea, and that which is further matter, vtter their mindes, chuse Husbands, and censure complections, and all this in a quiet and friendly sort, betweene themselues and the pinte-pot, or the quart quantitie, without any swaggering or squabbling, till the Vintners pewter-bearer, in a Boyes humour, gaue out the laugh at them.

Gentleman. Thou say'st well: belike thy Booke is a con-iuring kinde of Booke for the feminine Spirits, when a man may rayse three at once out of his pocket.

Prentice. Truely, sir; Ile assure you you may make vertious vse of this Booke diuers wayes, if you haue the grace to vse it kindly. As for ensample, set alone priuately in your chamber reading of it, and per aduenture the time you bestow in viewing it will keepe you from Dice, Tauerne, Bawdy-house, and so foorth.

Gentleman. Nay, if your Booke be of such excellent qualitie and rare operation, wee must needes haue some traffique together. Heere, take your money,—ist six-pence?

Prentice. I, certaine no lesse, sir: I thanke yee, sir.

Gentleman. What is this? an Epistle to it?

Prentice. Yes, forsooth: yes, tis dedicated

“To all the Pleasant conceited London Gentle-women, that are friends to mirth and enemie to dull Melancholy.”

All this curious and amusing matter is wanting in the editions after the first in 1602, which assigns the stanzas “in commendations of this booke” (subscribed only I. S. in the impression of 1609) to John Strange. The edition of 1619 omits these verses, but, besides two new songs, has the following species of Prologue:—

“BY YOUR LEAVE, READERS.

“Kinde loving Friends, since thus our case doth stand,
That we are fall'n into the Printer's hand;

And haue before this time been often prest
To make our private meeting public jest ;
And that we must endure and be content,
What men put on us in their merriment,
Pray, let us not be too much play'd upon.
We met, indeed, 'tis true, and past, and gon :
Marry, wee were yet free from all offence,
And there was no man charg'd with our expence :
Unto a penny wee our reck'ning pay'd ;
Then who can blame the Widdow, Wife, and Mayde,
For meeting and kind drinking each with other ?
Men can their own carowings closely smother,
Their pottles and their gallons, hand to hand,
Their drinking healths untill they cannot stand,
And yet there is no book in rhyme to show it.
But, well ; wee'le haue a Wench shall be our Poet,
And pay them home, because they doe provoke ;
So, pray reade on : wee'le stand to all we spoke."

Hence we might infer, as is very likely to have been the case, that there were intermediate editions of "Tis merry when Gossips meet," besides those of 1609 and 1619. The new songs in the latter are very good and very droll, but not very decent, according to the present notions of society, and for that reason I refrain from inserting either of them. Perhaps, too, as this paper may be said only to illustrate Shakespeare, incidentally, and through some of his most celebrated contemporaries, it is long enough.

T. J. SCOTT.

London, June, 1844.

ART. XXI.—*Who was "Will, my lord of Leycester's
jesting player?"*

There is a passage of some little dramatic interest in a letter of Sir Philip Sydney's, to which, I think, due attention has never yet been paid. As the letter is published in two common books,¹ I cannot suppose that it is not sufficiently well known; but it is very possible that, attracted by its manly sentiments and the calm dignity of its style, those who have perused it have overlooked its indirect bearing upon the history of the drama.

The letter is dated "at Utrecht, this 24th March, 1586;" and the original, from which I shall quote, exists in the Harleian MS., 287, fol. 1.

The admirable writer was then engaged in that war for the independence of the Low Countries in which a few months afterwards he found an honourable grave. The Earl of Leycester had recently accepted the office of Governor-general of the United Provinces, and Sir Philip Sydney, and all the other followers of the earl, were paying the penalty of his ambitious vanity in the stoppage of their supplies, which followed upon Queen Elizabeth's disapprobation of the step taken by her favourite. In the midst of their troubles, whilst the soldiers were mutinous for want of pay, and, in a foreign country and during a rigorous spring, were suffering the conjoined hardships of defective clothing and insufficient food, Sydney writes thus to Mr. Secretary Walsyngham, his father-in-law:—

"Such is the goodwill it pleaseth you to bear me, that my part of the trouble is something that troubles you, but I beseech yow let it not. I had before cast my count of danger, want, and disgrace; and before God, sir, it is trew in my hart, the love of the cause doth so farr overballance them all, that, with

¹ In Lodge's Portraits, and in the Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Philip Sydney.

Gods grace, they shall never make me weary of my resolution. If her majestie were the fountain, I would fear, considering what I dayly find, that we should wax dry. But she is but a means whom God useth ; and I know not whether I am deceived, but I am faithfully persuaded, that, if she shold withdraw her self, other springes wold ryse to help this action ; for methinks I see the great work indeed in hand against the abusers of the world, wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in mans power, then it is hastily to despair of Gods work. I think a wyse and constant man ought never to greev while he doth plai, as a man mai sai, his own part truly, though others be out ; but if himself leav his hold becaws othir marri-ners will be ydle, he will hardly forgive himself his own fault. For me, I cannot promis of my cource, no, nor of the mynd, becaws I know there is a hyer power that must uphold me, or els I shall fall, but certainly I trust I shall not by other mens wantes be drawn from myself. Therefore, good sir, to whom for my particular I am more bound then to all men besydes, be not troubled with my troubles, for I have seen the worst in my judgement before hand, and wors than that cannot be. If the queen pai not her souldiours, she must loos her garrisons ; there is no doubt thereof. But no man living shall be hable to say the fault is in me. What releef I can do them I will. I will spare no danger, if occasion serv. I am sure no creature shall be hable to lay injustice to my charge, and for furdre doubtles truly I stand not uppon them."

These sentences, which seem to contain something like a foreshadowing of several of Shakespeare's¹ noblest passages, are followed by others, written in the same strain, and ultimately by the following :—

"I wrote to yow a letter by Will, my lord of Lester's jesting plai-er, enclosed in a letter to my wife, and I never had

¹ My own opinion is in favour of spelling the name *Shakspeare* ; but I cannot think of disturbing the wonderful unanimity of the *Shakespeare* Society upon a point of such infinite unimportance.

answer thereof. Hit contained something to my lord of Lester and council, that som wai might be taken to stay my ladi there. I since dyvers tymes have writt to know whether yow had receaved them, but you never answered me that point. I since find that the knave deliverd the letters to my ladi of Lester, but whether she sent them yow or no I know not, but earnestly desire to do, because I dout there is more enterpreted thereof."

Upon this passage several questions arise, and the first of them is—Who was "Will, my lord of Lester's jesting plaier?"

In the enumeration of Lord Leycester's company of players, in 1574,¹ there is one "William Johnson." Amongst the players mentioned in the plat of Tarlton's Seven Deadlye Sinns,² which may be assigned to about the year 1589, there are "Will," who played Itys, and "W. Sly," who represented Ferrex. In the certificate of the good conduct of the sharers in the Blackfriars, dated Nov., 1589,³ three Williams are enumerated, Shakespeare, Kempe, and Johnson; and in the petition from the actors, in 1596,⁴ the number of Williams remains the same, but they were then Shakespeare, Kempe, and Sly.

Of course it is possible that, between 1574 and 1596, there were other persons of the Christian name of William in the company; and it is also possible that there were persons of that Christian name in the company who were not enumerated in the lists I have quoted. But, on the other hand, I believe no other player of that period and of that Christian name is known;⁵ and I infer, from the words of Sir Philip Sydney,

¹ Collier's Shakespeare, i. xxxv.

² Malone, iii. 348.

³ Collier's Shakespeare, i. cviii.

⁴ *Ibid.* cliv.

⁵ William Ostler and William Ecclestone, who are enumerated in the list of players in the first folio, belong to a later period. See Malone, iii. 212, 217.

that there was a certain degree of intimacy between himself, and also between the Earl and Countess of Leycester, and the person alluded to, which seems to point to the player in question, as one of station and eminence in his calling, one likely to become a shareholder in the company of which he was a member, and one not likely to have entirely escaped the researches of dramatic antiquaries. My own opinion, founded upon these circumstances, is that the "Will" alluded to was one of the persons I have enumerated.

Nor do I see much reason to doubt that he was the same "Will" who is described as the representative of Itys in the plat of Tarlton's Seven Deadly Sinns. It would be strange indeed if, at about the same time and in the same company, two persons were both termed by the same familiar appellation. If this be thought probable, we get rid of Sly from the four persons amongst whom we are to look for "Will," because Sly is set down in the plat referred to as a distinct person from "Will." Our choice is thus limited to Johnson, Kempe, and Shakespeare.

Now that Shakespeare was a light-hearted, frolicsome man is clear from the deer-stealing; that he was witty in conversation is to be inferred from his daughter's epitaph; that he was termed "Will Shakespeare" is certain; but I must at once express my own conviction that Sir Philip Sidney never could have applied to him the terms "jesting player" and "knave," even allowing that the latter word might not be used in the modern offensive sense. Shakespeare's earliest works bear upon them the stamp of a mind far too contemplative and refined for its possessor ever to have been regarded as a jester or buffoon; besides which, the only traces that we have of him as an actor are in old Adam and the ghost in Hamlet, certainly not humorous characters. In my own opinion, therefore, the choice lies between Johnson and Kempe.

Of Johnson we know literally nothing more than I have stated. He is not mentioned in the list of players in the first

folio, and was evidently not a man of any eminence or consideration. I cannot think that he was "Will."

There remains, then, only "that most comicall and conceited Cavaliere Monsieur du Kempe, Jestmonger and vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarleton,"¹ the original representative of Dogberry and Justice Shallow; a man whose qualifications and character coincide with all other considerations in pointing him out as most likely to be described by Sir Philip Sydney in the words I have quoted. To him, I think, those words, in all probability, refer, giving us proof that, before the death of Tarlton, he had joined the Blackfriars' company, and had acquired a reputation which entitled him, when Tarlton died, to be his successor, as well "in the favour of her majesty as in the good thoughts of the general audience."²

A second question, suggested by the words of Sir Philip Sydney is, whether the Earl of Leycester's players did not accompany him into the Low Countries?

It was an occasion upon which Leycester was particularly anxious to display his power and grandeur. He carried over with him a body-guard of 500 men, levied amongst his tenants and retainers, and the passage before us countenances the rumour (although it was afterwards thought politic to deny that there ever had been any such intention) that his countess was about to join him, for the express purpose of increasing the splendour of his court. At such a time, it is not unlikely that his players were present. Entertainments of a dramatic character, although more nearly resembling pageants or masques than plays, were exhibited before the earl on various occasions, and one instance has come under my notice, in reference to which it may be certainly said, that the performers were not native players. The instance I allude to occurs in a description of the festivities at Utrecht, on the St. George's day which followed the date of Sir Philip Sydney's letter, and

¹ Malone, iii. 198.

² *Ibid.*, 197.

which description was furnished to Stowe by Segar, the herald, who was present.¹ It is there said, that the feast was succeeded by dancing, vaulting, tumbling, and an exhibition, probably of a pantomimical character, termed, "The Forces of Hercules," which "gave great delight to the strangers, for they had not seene it before."

Taking this passage in connection with the positive proof, afforded by Sir Philip Sydney's letter, that certainly one of the Earl's players was with him in the Low Countries (even although that one was Kemp, who was confessedly a man of a roving spirit),² it raises something of a probability that he was not alone.

I would not lay any stress upon this point; indeed, the main object of this paper is to direct attention to subjects for further investigation. Other antiquaries may possess evidence not within my reach, which may establish, either that the earl's company did accompany him, or that this is another instance of the presence of a roving company of English players on the continent: a curious subject which has been mooted by Mr. Thoms, and upon which I am glad to learn that we are shortly to receive another communication from him. In the mean time, a most striking and positive proof of the existence and commonness of the practice alluded to has been handed to me by Mr. Wright, and I have great pleasure in adding it to the knowledge upon this subject which we already possess.

¹ Stowe's Chron. p. 717.

² Kemp has lately been traced, not merely to Norwich, but into France and Italy, and, still more lately, in Mr. Collier's admirable life of Shakespeare (p. cxxix), from one dramatic company to another of the opposing candidates for public favour in London. This fact probably explains how it is that we find "Will" set down in the plot of Frederick and Basilea (Malone iii., 357), as well as in that of Tarlton's Seven Deadlie Sinns. The plays were acted at different periods, as well as at different theatres.

It occurs in De Bry, Ind. Orient. part xii., p. 137, printed in 1613. The writer is describing Japan :—

"Vigesimo primo ejusdem mensis die rex iterum Anglorum navem petiit, magna stipatus mulierum caterva, quæ omnes mimæ erant, actrices comædiarum, et saltatrices. Solent autem hæ mulieres agmine facto oberrare per provincias et oppida, acturæ comædias, *ut Angli ludiones per Germaniam et Galliam vagantur*, vehentes secum omnis generis vestes et instrumenta histrionica, pro exigentia fabularum quas lusuræ sunt, in quibus frequentissima sunt argumenta belli, amoris, et ejusmodi."

One other question hangs upon the proof of the presence of Lord Leicester's players in the Low Countries. If they were there, was not Shakespeare probably with them, even although he was not the "Will" mentioned by Sir Philip Sydney?

He left Stratford after the birth of his twins, who were baptised in the month of February, 1585. He is next traced as an important member of Lord Leicester's company of players, in 1589. He must have been in the company some considerable time, or he could not have attained the station which he held. Now, the earl was appointed to the command in the Low Countries in September, 1585, and immediately afterwards sent out letters to his friends and retainers, requesting them to accompany him thither. From Warwickshire, and especially from the neighbourhood of his domain at Kenilworth, his 500 men were in great part procured. One "John Arden," who was recommended to the earl's service by his relative and confidential servant Mr. Thomas Dudley,¹ and another, "Thomas Ardern," who was "clarcke comptroller,"² were probably relatives of Shakespeare, and "Miles Comes,"

¹ Galba, C. viii., fo. 106.

² *Ibid.* fo. 108.

or, as he is afterwards termed, "Miles Combes,"¹ was probably his neighbour. It was just about the time of the stir, which this incident created in Warwickshire, that Shakespeare's father attained the lowest depth of his poverty, and that Shakespeare himself left his native town. The incidents may be altogether unconnected, but a young man of an excitable temperament, encumbered by an imprudent marriage and domestic difficulties, one to whom neither the world of Stratford nor its law was friendly, was of all persons the most likely to be affected by the general commotion around him. The departure of friends and neighbours would be to him a temptation and an example. They marshalled him the way that he should go; and although seeking distinction in other fields, stirred him up to find an arena for the exercise of that power which he must have felt within him. This consideration would lead to a conclusion very consonant with all we know of his biography;—that he left home a little earlier than has been usually supposed. There may be nothing in it, but I point it out as a subject for investigation to those who feel an interest in such questions, and who have greater facilities for pursuing the necessary inquiries than I, at present, possess.

JOHN BRUCE.

¹ *Ibid*, fo. 106. In the same MS. list of Leycester's servants, we find, under the head of "Musiconer," the following names: "Thomas Cole, William Bainton, James Wharton, William Edgley, William Black, Jo. the harper, Walter, the boye." No players are mentioned.

ART. XXII.—*Corrections of Shakespeare's Text, by Sir William Blackstone, &c.*

I beg to submit to the Committee of the Shakespeare Society the accompanying corrections of Shakespeare's text. The first class of Observations, which were considered complete by their Author, are from the pen of Sir William Blackstone, the Judge, and have been copied by myself *literatim* from the original MS., which, at this present time, forms part of the collection of Mr. Knight of Canonbury, Islington. Being conversant with the handwriting of that accomplished scholar and lawyer, I have no doubt of the authenticity of the MS.; but the MS. is also vouched by the accompanying letter from the son of Judge Blackstone, addressed to the late Doctor Adams of Cork, whose collection of MSS. was sold in May last. I am indebted to Mr. Upcott of 102 Upper Street, Islington, for the inspection of this MS. and the means of preserving its contents from oblivion, as the notes of the Judge do not appear to have been communicated to subsequent annotators upon Shakespeare.

*Cursory Observations on Shakespear,
with a particular View to*

AD. 1746. *Sr T. H.'s Emendations.*

The Quotations are according to y^e Pages of y^e London Edition in Octavo of 1745 [viz. Sr Tho. Hanmer's Edition of Shakespeare.]

Vol. i., page 61, Tempest, Act v., Sc. 2.

Weak <i>Masters</i> tho' ye be	.	.	.	Vulg.
..... <i>Ministers</i>	.	.	.	Sr T. H.

It seems hardly consistent that Prospero, while he is recounting the mighty Feats he had performed by y^e Aid of these Elves, should call them weak Ministers. The Common Reading carries with it a fine Sense, that though these Beings

are so powerful when acting under y^e Directions of another ; yet, when left to themselves, they are weak, and unable to perform any thing.

Vol. i., page 133, *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, Act v., Sc. 2.

Pyr. And Like *Limander* am I trusty still.

Thi. And I like *Helen* till the Fates me kill.

Limander stands evidently for *Leander*, but how came *Helen* to be coupled with him? Might it not have originally been wrote *Heren*, which is as ridiculous a corruption of *Hero*, as y^e other is of her Lover. [In allusion to the Story of *Hero* and *Leander*. *Ovid's Epist.*]

Vol. i., page 391, *Comedy of Errors*, Act i., Sc. 1.

At either end y^e mast Vulg.

At th' end of either mast S^r T. H.

By what goes before in this, and follows in y^e next speech of *Ægeon*, it appears that the infants were fastened at either end of y^e same Mast, on y^e middle of w^{ch} he & his wife rode, as it should seem, back to back, fixing their Eyes on whom their eare was fixed; that this Mast was broke in two by a rock, just between y^e Husband and Wife, so that she was left with one Child, and he with y^e other.

Vol. i., page 441, *Comedy of Errors*, Act v., Sc. 7.

Besides her Urging of her Wrack at Sea Vulg.

Bothsides emerging from their Wrack at Sea S^r T. H.

The new reading is obscure; but y^e meaning of y^e discarded seems to be this: *Æmilia* may be supposed, at her first coming to *Ephesus*, to have urged her Wrack at Sea, in order to move compassion. The Duke (comparing this, *Ægeon's Morning Story*, and the Likeness of the Twins, together) pronounces These plainly are y^e Parents of these Children, which how she has proved herself to be unless by some former story, is difficult to say.

Vol. iii., pag. 212, K. Richard II., Act ii., Sc. 2.

For young hot Colts, being raged, do rage y^e more.
That they certainly do, but perhaps Shakespear wrote it, as
the Context will very well bear,
—— being rein'd, do rage y^e more.

Vol. iii., pag. 219, K. Rich. II., Sc. 5.

Like Perspectives, which rightly gaz'd upon
Shew nothing but confusion ; eyed awry
Distinguish Form.

The Perspectives, now used, are surely widely different from
those in y^e days of Shakespear ! We should rather have
wrote (as perhaps he did),

Like Perspectives, which gaz'd upon awry,
Shew nothing but confusion ; rightly eyed
Distinguish form.

Besides that this Reading agrees with y^e sense, w^{ch} y^e other
does not.

Vol. iii., pag. 315, 1 Hen. IV., Act ii., Sc. 10,

Taken in y ^e <i>Manner</i>	Vulg.
..... <i>Manour</i>	S ^r T. H.

“ Maynour is when a Theefe hath stolne, and is followed with
Hue and Cry, and taken, having that found upon him which
he stole, that is called *Maynour*. And so we use to say when
we find one doing of an unlawful Act, that we took him with
the Maynour or Manner.” *Termes de la Ley*, *voce* Maynour.

Vol. iv., pag. 293, K. Rich. III., Act i. Sc. 2.

If ever he have Wife, let her be made
More miserable by y^e *Death* of him, &c.

When Anne recounts this wish, pag. 358, Act iv., Sc. 1,
she alters it thus :

More miserable by y^e *Life* of him.

The Mistake, if any, seems rather in y^e 1st than 2nd passage;

since a Wife would be rendered more miserable by y^e Life of so horrid a Wretch as Glo'ster, than by his death, w^{ch}, instead of a Curse, would be a Blessing to her.

Vol. v., pag. 115-16, Coriolanus, Act ii., Sc. 4. [1.]

Your prating nurse

Into a RAPTURE lets her Baby cry.

A RAPTURE is an odd effect of crying in Babies. Dr * * * w^d read it RUPTURE. Only Qu. If crying ever produces *this* Effect?

I have since enquired, and am told it is usual.¹

Vol. v., pag. 118, Coriolanus, Act ii., Sc. 5 (Sc. 2.)

If he did not care whether he had their Love or no, *He* waved indifferently 'twixt doing them neither good nor harm.

By transposing a Letter, and reading *he'd wave*, the Sense and grammar are much mended.

Vol. v., pag. 175, Coriolanus, Act v., Sc. 1.

It was a *bare* Petition of a State.

..... *base* Qu. ?

Vol. v., pag. 117, Coriolanus, Act v., Sc. 1.

I tell you he doth sit *in gold*, &c.

This passage wants certainly either a Note or an Emendation ;
Till a better is found out we may read it :

I tell you he doth sit *engall'd*, &c.

Vol. v., pag. 210, Julius Cæsar, Act i., Sc. 5.

He should not humour me Vulg.

Cæsar sh^d not love me Sr T. H.

This is a bold stroke, and seems to have quite spoiled y^e Sense, for Cassius is reflecting on the discourse he has just

¹ Evidently written at another time.

had with Brutus ; pronounces him Noble, but remarks that he might be persuaded to act contrary to his Disposition, and proceeds to shew that He was justifiable in endeavouring to seduce Brutus, though Brutus was not so in suffering himself to be seduced. He concludes that had he been in Brutus's place, and Brutus in his, he would not have given way to Brutus's Persuasions.

Vol. vi., pag. 404, Hamlet, Act iv., Sc. 6.

Antiquity forgot, Custom not known,

They cry, Chuse we Laërtes for our King.

In Denmark, as in all the Gothic Constitutions, y^e Kingdom was, till of late years Elective. To this Shakespeare alludes, pag. 425 & 433, Act v., Sc. 3 & 6. Why, then, is Antiquity forgot, &c., by this popular Choice of Laërtes ? The Danes usually paid such respect to the Memory of their Princes, that they generally elected y^e nearest of Blood to y^e deceased Monarch that appeared worthy of y^e Crown ; and seldom a Stranger to his Family, as was Laërtes.

Castle Priory, Wallingford,

25 Dec^r 1829.

Sir,

I have just received your letter of the 18th, directed to me at N. I. Hall, Oxford, requesting me to furnish you with an autograph of my deceased father, which I very willingly comply with, and out of the variety in my possōn, I send you the first I lay my hand upon ; which appears to be some casual notes on Shakspear ; which I rather think were communicated to Mr. Steevens at the time of the publication of his edition 1779. I send this through the same channell by which I received your letter, and am

Your obed^t humble serv^t,

(Signed)

JAS. BLACKSTONE.

(Superscribed)

HENRY ADAMS, ESQ., L.L.D.

18, Queen Street,

South Mall, Cork.

The following "emendations, offered to the consideration of the critics on Shakespeare," in a letter addressed to the "London Chronicle" for Jan. 18—21, 1766, p. 71, although not connected with the foregoing, may, for want of a fitter opportunity, be here introduced.

"In *Julius Cæsar*, *Anthony*, having got leave from the conspirators to give funeral honours to his master, enters with these words, on seeing the murdered Cæsar—

*Thou wert the greatest Man
That ever lived in the Tide of Times.*

Read (as Bentley used to say, *meo periculo*.) Tides of Time. How has it come to pass that so many critics on Shakspeare should have missed this obvious emendation, I confess, amazes me. *Tides!* a Saxon word for epochs, eras, annals, but commonly the last; Shrove-tide, Lammas-tide, and so of all the anniversary returns of certain days or months. I ask all the critics where is the similarity of Tide and Time? One flows without ebbing, the other ebbs as often as it flows. There is a very old remark, and, as I revere antiquity, I shall not dispute it, *Time and Tide wait for no man*—no, nor a Gravesend barge, nor a stage coach, but they are not alike, though this is not very similar either to my remark. In the same play and speech *Anthony* says:

*And Cæsar's spirit, raging for revenge,
With Ate by his side, come hot from hell,
Shall in these confines with a Monarch's voice
Cry Havock, and let slip the dogs of war.*

"I should request to know what idea *Havock* represents? to me, none: to make this quite clear, *vide* the Book of Sports, or *Laws of the Paddock*, published the 2nd of King James I., where are these directions: 'No Keeper shall *slip* his Greyhound till the Warden throws down his Wardour and cries, Hay! vous!' Undoubtedly, then, the text is Hay!

voux ! At that time Horseracing, as now practised, was unknown, and all races were Dog to Dog, the manner thus : in the paddock were two Harriers, at one end was kept a buck educated for the purpose ; he was let go from the other Harrier and to go home as fast as he could ; after a little Law given him, the Greyhounds were slipped, and the Dog first in won the prize. Hay ! voux ! is Dog Language to this day with Harriers ; and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Squire Slender* alludes to this custom of running Greyhounds for a dish of stewed prunes the first venue, i.e., the first heading the Deer or view of him."

THOS. EDLYNE TOMLINS.

Islington, 14 June, 1844.

ART. XXIII.—*Inigo Jones and his office under the Crown.*

Inigo Jones's book about Stonehenge was a posthumous publication, put forth in 1655 by Webb, his pupil, and dedicated to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Lord Pembroke's copy of the Stonehenge was one of the treasures of the Harleian Library, described by Oldys, for Osborne's catalogue. The noble Earl, (the son of "Sydney's sister,") in writing the scandal of his old age upon its pages, had scribbled a few strange notices of the great architect — wild and erratic, like the ravings of his death-bed, as described by Birkenhead and Sedley. "He had for 20 years together," says Pembroke, "sixteen thousand pounds a year, for keeping the King's houses in repair, and yet they lay worse than any house in Turnball Street." This was on p. 3. On p. 34 he had written, "Hinnico Jones, *alias* Iniquity Jones, a justice of peace and of the Quorum, i and Custos Rotulorum, hath for keeping the King's houses in repair, *deux cens mil escu per an* : threescore thousand pounds sterling a year, i and well paid : He is fourscore years old." ¹

Inigo was then dead. Lord Pembroke was better read in his Shakespeare than in the life and labours of the author of the disquisition upon Stonehenge.

Inigo Jones's first situation under the Crown was that of Surveyor of the Works to Henry, Prince of Wales.² Prince Henry died on the 6th of November, 1612, and Jones was paid off in the spring of the following year. He was at Vicenza on Thursday, the 23rd September, 1613, and at Rome in

¹ Lord Pembroke's copy of Jones's *Stonehenge Restored* (the copy referred to) was in a bookseller's catalogue less than a year ago for 6s. 6d!

² See "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court."—*Introduction*.

1614.¹ The officers of the Crown works and buildings at this time were Simon Basyll, *Surveyor*, Thomas Baldwin, *Comptroller*, and William Portinton, *Clerk*.

The salary of Simon Basyll was discontinued after the last day of December, 1615, and Inigo Jones was appointed Surveyor in his stead, with pay commencing from the 1st of October, 1615, at the rate of 8^s per diem for his entertainment, 80^l per annum for his recompence of avails, and 2^s 8^d per diem for riding and travelling charges "to sundry of His Majesty's Houses."

This I learn from the Accounts of the Paymaster of the Works, preserved in the Audit Office, and am thus enabled to state with accuracy the precise period of Inigo's accession to office. The King's warrant to Lord Hay for the issue of livery from the royal wardrobe to the new surveyor is dated 16th March, 1616: "if this were his first suit," says Mr. Cunningham, "the date of his accession to office could be fixed."² There can be no doubt that this was the order for the first issue to Inigo, for distinct warrants were given only upon new appointments, the after-expenses being allowed from year to year by a general warrant covering the whole cost of the wardrobe. In the schedule for 1621, of sums due yearly at the feast of All Saints, by the keeper of the Great Wardrobe, for Liveries to the different officers and servants of the Crown, I find

To Inigo Jones, Surveyor of his Ma^{ty} Workes . . . xij^l xv^s x^d.³

Now this is the exact amount of the sum for livery allowed by King James's warrant to Lord Hay, before referred to.

In 1629, a grant was made to Inigo of the sum of xlvj^l

¹ See his Palladio in Worcester College, Oxford, and the fac-simile Sketch-Book, executed at the expense of the Duke of Devonshire, from the original in his Grace's possession.

² *Lives of British Artists*, vol. iv., p. 97.

³ Audit Office Enrolments.

yearly, as an equivalent for house-rent. I have transcribed the royal authority for the payment of this sum to Inigo Jones, from the books of the Audit Office :—

[*Audit Office Enrolments*, vol ii., p. 404.]

“ CHARLES by the Grace of God &c.—to the Threear and underthreear of or Excheqr now being and w^{ch} hereafter from the tyme shalbe and to all other our officers and ministers to whome it may appertaine—Greeting—Whereas the Surveyors of the Workes unto our predecessors haue formly had a dwelling house in o^r pallace of Westminster belonging unto them as incident to that place, untill the same was to their preiudice alienated from them: And forasmuch as we are given to understand that in the tyme of o^r late deare father king James of happye memory deceased, one Symon Basill Esqr being then Surveyor of the Workes, had a dwelling house in the office of o^r workes called Scotland yeard w^{ch} house together wth some storehouses there being pulled downe by the sayd Symon Basill hee procured a Lease of that parte of the said yard and built severall houses thereupon for his owne private benefitt soe as o^r Surveyor hath paid a fine and is answerable for a yearely rent to the value of forty sixe poundes p ann. for one of the houses. Wee doo therefore make known to you o^r said Threear and Underthreear that of o^r speciale grace and ffavor unto o^r trustie and welbeloved Servant Inigo Jones Esqr now Surveyor of o^r Workes as well in consideracion of his good and faithfull service done both to our said late deare ffather and to us as for diverse other good consideracions us hereunto moving wee are pleased to give and graunte unto him the some of forty sixe pounds of currant money of England p^r ann for the rent of his said dwelling house, and doe by these presents will and command you aswell the officers of o^r Workes to enter the same monethly wth other allowaunces and enterteynem^{te} as alsoe the paymaster of o^r said workes now being and that hereafter for the tyme shalbe out of o^r Treasure from tyme to tyme remayning in his

handes and custodie to pay unto the said Inigo Jones the said allowaunce of fortie sixe poundes p^r ann for the rent of his sayd house, in such manner as other allowaunces and entertey^{ts} of that office are usually paid, the first payem^t to begin from the ffeast of the Annunciacon of the blessed Vergine Mary last past before the date hereof and to continue during his naturall life. And theise o^r lres shalbe sufficient warr^t and discharge aswell to the said Payemaster of o^r workes for the due paye^t of the sayd some of fortie sixe poundes pr ann as to the Auditors of o^r Imprests and all other o^r officers whom it may concern, for giving allowaunce thereof from tyme to tyme upon his Accomptes. Given under o^r signet at o^r pallace of Westminster the third day of Aprill [1629] in the fifth yeare of o^r Raigne."

Jones's annual receipts from the Crown were, nearly as I conceive, as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Entertainment at 8s. per diem . . .	146	0	0
Recompence of Availes	80	0	0
Expenses when he rideth esteemed at	53	5	8
Value of Livery	12	15	10
Equivalent for House Rent . . .	46	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	338	1	6

or about £1500 of our money.

I have been thus minute to set aside in future (if possible) the statements of Walpole and his followers. "His fee as surveyor," says Walpole, "was eight shillings and four pence per day, with an allowance of forty-six pounds a year for house rent, besides a clerk and incidental expenses. What greater rewards he had are not upon record. Considering the havoc made in offices and repositories during the war, one is glad of being able to recover the smallest notices."¹ This is copied by

¹ Anecdotes by Dallaway, ii., 341.

Mr. Cunningham into his life of Inigo Jones ;¹ but Jones's annual allowance is still more inaccurately stated in Mr. Collier's excellent *Annals of the Stage*.² "I may here add," he says, "on the authority of Harl. MS. No. 1857, the annual allowance for the office of Surveyor of the Works, the situation at this time held by Inigo Jones. It is given in the following form :—

THE WORKS.

Surveyor	Mr. Jones	Fee 36 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>		
		One Clarke at 6 <i>d.</i> per day.		
		Expenses when he writeth, at 6 <i>d.</i> per day, estimated at 53 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	£	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
			222	5 2
		Botehire, at 20 <i>d.</i> per day, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		

Mr. Collier meant to refer, I presume, to Harl. MS. 4257 (not 1857) where Inigo's income as surveyor stands as follows :—

THE WORKES (fol. 22)

Surveyor	Mr. Jones.	Fee 36 ^u . 10 ^s . One		
		Clearke at 6 ^d . a day		
		Expenses when hee rideth at 4 ^s . a day esteemed at £53. 5. 8	£	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
		Botehire at 20 ^d . a day £13. 6. 8.	112	5 10

¹ *Lives of British Artists*, iv., 99.

² *Collier*, i., 379.

The Harl. MS. 1848 (fol. 21 b.) gives the riding Expences of the Surveyor in 1593 at four shillings a day, and the Boat-hire at the same rate.

THE WORKES.

Srveyor

Fee at 20^s. p^r diem—One Clerk 6^d. per diem—Expences when he rideth at 4^s. per diem. Boate hire at 4^s. p^r diem

In 1610, the salary of Simon Basyll was as follows (Harl. MS., 1857, fol. 18):—

THE WORKES.

Surveyor	Mr. Basill	Fee 2 ^s . a day—36 ^u . 10 ^s .	
		One Clearke att 6 ^d . a day 9 ^u . 2 ^s . 6 ^d . Ex-	
		penses when hee ri-	
		deth att 4 ^s . a day	112 5 8
		esteemed at	
		53 ^u . 5 ^s . 8 ^d .	
		Botehire 13 ^u . 6 ^s . 8 ^d .	

I purpose printing in the second volume of these Papers (should the Society continue to think my communications of sufficient interest to warrant their insertion) several curious extracts from an account now before me of the "Charges incurred in building a Banqueting House at Whitehall and erecting a new Pier in the Isle of Portland for the conveyance of stone from thence to Whitehall." Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall has other interesting features (invisible though they be) than the breadth and harmonious proportions of its architecture: as the court playhouse upon great occasions, it is inseparably allied with the history of our early theatres, with Lowen and with Taylor, with the masques of Jonson and the plays of Shakespeare, Fletcher, Massinger, and Shirley.

P. CUNNINGHAM.

ART. XXIV.—*On the word "Ducdame," in As You Like it.*

The notes of the commentators on this word, which occurs in a song in "As You Like It," are by no means satisfactory. Mr. Collier judiciously omits the accent *Ducdàme*, for, it being necessarily a trisyllable, owing to the construction of the verse, if any accent were required, we ought to print *Ducdamé*. The mere fact of the word being a trisyllable shows at once the inconsistency of attempting to establish a connexion with the old country song, commencing,—

"Dame, what makes your ducks to die?"

on which Whiter and Farmer have so elaborately written, and which Mr. Knight pronounces *much more rational* than Hammer's conjecture of *duc ad me*, which is forced and unnecessary, I admit, but not quite so absurd as to suppose Jaques was using some country call of a woman to her ducks. Mr. Collier seems correct when he says that Jaques's declaration of its being "a Greek invocation to call fools into a circle" is merely a jeer upon the ignorance of Amiens. In other words, Amiens understood as little about *Ducdame* as Mr. Knight and the commentators, and the answer of Jaques is playful, not a serious exposition of the word.

I have recently met with a passage in an uncollated MS. of the "Vision of Piers Ploughman," in the Bodleian Library, which goes far to prove that *Ducdamé* is a burden of an old song, an explanation which exactly agrees with its position in the song of Jaques. The passage is as follows:—

"Thanne sete ther some,
And *sunge* at the ale,
And helpen to eryl that half akre
With *Dusadam-me-me*."

MS. Rawl. Poet. 137, f. 6.

To show that this is evidently intended for the burden of a song, we need only compare it with the corresponding passage in the printed edition :—

“And thanne seten somme,
And songen atte nale,
And holpen ere this half acre
With *How, trolly lolly.*”

Piers Ploughman, ed. Wright, p. 124.

Making allowances for the two centuries which elapsed between the appearance of “*Piers Ploughman*” and “*As You Like It*,” is there too great a difference between *Dusadam-me-me* and *Duc-da-me* to warrant my belief that the latter is a legitimate descendant of the more ancient refrain? At all events, it must be borne in mind that the commentators have not produced any old word equally near it in their dissertations on its meaning.

This word may also possibly be intended by *Dmee!* *dmee!* *dmee!* in Armin’s Nest of Ninnies, (Shakespeare Society’s reprint,) p. 32. Mr. Collier, however, thinks it “most likely an abbreviation of *Dear me.*”

J. O. HALLIWELL.

ART. XXV.—*Signature of John Shakespeare. William Shakespeare's Papers.*

The Athenæum of March 2nd contained a review of "the Works of William Shakespeare, with his Life." As I have long felt a very particular interest in the biography of the poet, and would gladly contribute my mite on any occasion to the general treasury of facts that tend to throw any degree of light on the history of himself or of those connected with him, I beg to make a suggestion that occurred to me some months ago, in reference to a paragraph in the review.

The reviewer says (p. 191,) "It has been a point much controverted of late years, whether the poet's father could or could not write his own name. Malone assures us that John Shakespeare could not write his own name, that he was a marksman, and that his mark 'nearly resembles the letter A., and was probably chosen in honour of the lady he had married.'"

Malone was evidently not aware that a considerable number of those persons who make use of marks, from an inability to write their names, adopt a *signum*, which "nearly resembles the letter A.;" the same being formed thus: (A). The adoption of this mark as a mode of signature was doubtless first suggested by the *caret*; or rather, such mark was identical therewith, and originally used as the means of expressing, independently of its vicarious signification, that the power of writing the name was *wanting*.

During many years, in which I attended as an assistant in the office of my late father, (the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham) I had numberless opportunities of witnessing the various modes of signature to official documents; and my experience records the fact that, although the much larger portion of markspeople signed with the cross (X) (+), yet many, very many, used the *caret*. And by this *name* was the mark in question repeatedly noticed by clerks, apparitors,

and others, in the course of office business. Mr. Malone's remark that John Shakespeare used a mark nearly resembling the letter A., as probably "chosen in honour of the lady he had married," appears to myself, therefore, sufficiently ludicrous. Perhaps these observations may be deemed of little moment: they, however, seem to me to be called for by Mr. Malone's comment on the mark used by the father of Shakespeare.

I may take this opportunity of adding that the late Colonel John Gilbert Cooper Gardiner, of Thurgarton Priory, Nottinghamshire, (who for many years commanded the Militia of that county) was descended from Lady Barnard. Holding a commission in the regiment under Col. G.'s command, I was, in 1831, thrown much into the colonel's society, during the month's training and exercise of the corps which took place in that year. We had many conversations on the subject of Shakespeare's life, when he referred to his connection with the family of the bard in the person of his ancestress, Lady Barnard. He also stated that he had frequently been applied to, by literary men of eminence connected with the Shakespeare inquiries, for information as to his possession of any MSS., or other remains of Shakespeare; but that his reply had uniformly been, that his family papers were so confusedly mixed up with the documents relating to his estates and other miscellaneous writings, that he had never been able to make an entire and satisfactory search. He still proposed, at some future period, to go thoroughly into such an investigation; and I repeatedly urged the strong desire I entertained to assist him on the occasion, if he would accept my very zealous services.

Such inquiry, however, I have reason to believe, was never effected. He died, and his ancient family-seat fell into the hands of strangers. His personal effects were sold by auction in the neighbourhood, and I should conceive that the bulk of his papers went into the hands of his executors, although it is

not unlikely that, as he left no family representative and the estates passed to mortgagees, the old and useless muniments might be given up, with little examination, to the party possessing the Priory where they were deposited. Who the executors were I am not informed ; but as Col. G.'s brother-in-law was Mr. Lysons, (one of the authors of the several county histories) that gentleman may be supposed to know something of the matter. I should much congratulate myself, should this communication happily lead to any desirable result.

Col. Gardiner originally bore the name of Cooper, and was grandson of John Gilbert Cooper, the poet, whose portrait, by Hogarth, together with a copy of D'Avenant's Plays with his autograph inscribed, fell into my possession at the sale of the colonel's effects. As it is just possible that this communication may afford some clue which others may be disposed to follow up, it may be worthy of insertion among the Shakespeare Papers.

ROBERT BIGSBY, LL.D.

Repton, near Burton-upon-Trent,
June 28th, 1844.

END OF VOL. I.

†

FREDERICK SHOBERL, JUNIOR,
PRINTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,
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